Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-081
Friday
28 April 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-081 28 April 1989

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Further Reportage on London Information Forum 1
Bokov Denounces Turkish Propaganda *[BTA]* 1
Press Complaints Discussed *[RUDE PRAVO 26 Apr]* 2

BULGARIA

Zhivkov Meets Soviet Deputy Minister Aboymov *[BTA]* 3
Soviet Troop Withdrawal From Hungary Observed *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 26 Apr]* 3
Parliamentary Foreign Policy Committee Meets *[BTA]* 3

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPSU Central Committee Reshuffle 'Unprecedented' *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Apr]* 4
26 Apr Hungarian Interview With Dubcek Criticized *[Prague TV]* 4
'Panorama' Program Censured *[Lenka in Bratislava PRAVDA 26 Apr]* 5
Further Press Protests *[Bratislava PRAVDA 25 Apr]* 6
Jakes Tours Enterprises in East Slovakia *[RUDE PRAVO 26 Apr]* 6
Jakes Ends Visit *[Prague Radio]* 7
Jakes Addresses Pioneers on Founding Anniversary *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Apr]* 7
Janak Addresses Young Pioneers in Bratislava *[Bratislava PRAVDA 26 Apr]* 12
Fojtik, Lenart Address Communist Deputies *[RUDE PRAVO 26 Apr]* 13
Government Views Revised State Plan, Budget *[CTK]* 13
Fire Destroys USSR Friendship Building *[RUDE PRAVO 26 Apr]* 13
First Multicandidate Elections Praised *[RUDE PRAVO 26 Apr]* 14
'Socialism' Omitted From Solidarity Platform *[Bratislava PRAVDA 25 Apr]* 15
'Doubts' About New Self-Management Viewed *[RUDE PRAVO 25 Apr]* 15
Need To Reformulate Legal System Assessed *[RUDE PRAVO 24 Apr]* 16

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Unilateral Force Reduction, Transfers Begin *[ADN]* 17
Further on Reductions *[ADN]* 17
Honecker Holds Talks With FRG's Albrecht *[ADN]* 17
Honecker Hosts Lunch *[ADN]* 18
Talks Termed 'Constructive' *[ADN]* 19
SED/SPD Security Issues Group Continues Talks *[ADN]* 20

HUNGARY

Television Broadcasts 26 Apr Dubcek Interview *[Budapest TV]* 21
GDR Cited on CSSR Criticism of Dubcek Program *[Budapest Radio]* 26
Further Cuts in Arms, Military Spending Prepared *[Budapest Radio]* 26
Further on Kovacs Remarks *[MTI]* 26
Janos Peter Invites Romania's Manescu for Visit *[NEPSZABADSAG 21 Apr]* 26
Gyula Horn News Conference on Foreign Affairs *[MTI]* 27
Government Spokesman Holds News Conference *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 21 Apr]* 28
MSZMP 'Expert' Discusses Alternative Groups *[MAGYARORSZAG No 16]* 29
People's Party Publishes Election Appeal *[MAGYAR NEMZET 22 Apr]* 31
Nemeth Receives World Expo Delegation *[MTI]* 31
Joint Soviet Economic Committee Session Noted *[MTI]* 31
CSSR's Rohlicek Attends Working Meeting *[RUDE PRAVO 18 Apr]* 31
Bulgarian Minister Signs Accord, Departs *[MTI]* 32

POLAND

PAP Reviews Agenda at 26-27 Apr Sejm Session 33
Lech Walesa Holds 27 Apr News Conference *[PAP]* 34
Further on Conference *[Warsaw Radio]* 34
Adam Michnik Views Results of Roundtable Talks *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 16-17 Apr]* 35
Perez de Cuellar's Continues Warsaw Talks *[PAP]* 36
Economic Visitor on Cooperation With Soviets *[PAP]* 37
New PZPR Press Spokesman Interviewed *[Bratislava PRAVDA 25 Apr]* 38
Official Denies Increase in Radioactivity *[Warsaw Radio]* 39
2,000 Demonstrate To Repeal Legal Abortion *[AFP]* 39
Convicted Killer of Priest Chmielewski Freed *[PAP]* 40

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Receives Western Australia's Burke *[AGERPRES]* 41
Local Civic Debt Repayment Rallies Summed Up *[AGERPRES]* 41
Meeting Marks 1939 May Day Demonstration *[AGERPRES]* 41
New Ships Launched at Galati Shipyards *[AGERPRES]* 42

YUGOSLAVIA

Dizdarevic Chairs SFRY Presidency Session *[TANJUG]* 43
Further on Presidency Meeting *[TANJUG]* 43
Milosevic Gives Speech at Serbian LC Session *[TANJUG]* 43
Milosevic Meets Work, Social Group Leaders 44
Speaks on Economic Reform *[Belgrade Radio]* 44
Criticizes Reform Resistance *[TANJUG]* 45
Speaks on LC Tasks in Priboj *[Belgrade Radio]* 46
Defense Committee Sees Signs of Kosovo Stability *[TANJUG]* 47
Kosovo Presidency Terms Situation 'Improved' *[TANJUG]* 47
Montenegrin LC Extraordinary Congress Begins 48
Vukotic Welcomes Delegates *[TANJUG]* 48
Vukotic Addresses Congress *[TANJUG]* 50
26 Apr Proceedings Reported *[TANJUG]* 54
Congress Ends, Adopts Platforms *[TANJUG]* 54
Vojvodina LC Conference Proposed for November *[BORBA 22-23 Apr]* 55
Vojvodina Committee Marks LCY's 70th Anniversary *[TANJUG]* 55
Slovene Presidium on Human Rights Committee *[TANJUG]* 56
Assembly Committee Discusses Attacks on Army *[POLITIKA 20 Apr]* 56
BORBA Article Advocates Jail for Kecmanovic *[Spasovic, 20 Apr]* 57
'No Change' in FRG-SFRY Visa Regulations *[BORBA 21 Apr]* 58
Freedom of Thought Committee Appeals to Serbia *[POLITIKA 19 Apr]* 58

Further Reportage on London Information Forum

Bokov Denounces Turkish Propaganda

AU2004192989 Sofia BTA in English
1801 GMT 20 Apr 89

[Text] London, April 20 (BTA corr.)—Bulgaria is fulfilling already the Vienna agreements. This is a regular continuation of the policy of opening the country to the world in the name of peace and cooperation, said today at a plenary session of the Information Forum in London the leader of the Bulgarian delegation Mr. Filip Bokov.

He stressed that this policy is not a new thing for Bulgaria but it has long standing roots and traditions. The data about the mass studying of foreign languages in Bulgaria can serve as example, as well as the intensive development of tourism, the desire to know all considerable intellectual values and cultural achievements of the European and world civilization.

The opinion of the Bulgarian side is that the work of the forum in London should be based on openness, respect to universal human values and national traditions, nondiscrimination and cooperation, respect of the multiformity of the cultural and political traditions and historical values of all European peoples.

Mr. Filip Bokov spoke of the process of restructuring in Bulgaria which is oriented toward socialist pluralistic society, toward broadening of self-government and consolidation of glasnost. Nowadays in Bulgaria the role of the mass media as an independent factor is objectively changing, a factor having greater influence on society.

The Bulgarian representative noted that information can draw closer but it can also draw apart.

"One can still notice recurrences of the 'cold war' of the period when through coordinated disinformation campaigns attempts have been made to discredit whole countries and peoples. From her own experience Bulgaria knows what that means. It was not so distant a time when Bulgaria was the target of controlled attempts to impute to her utterly absurd and illogical accusations which did not stand the test of facts. For us, said the Bulgarian representative, the tenacity with which these attempts are constantly enlivened, is inexplicable. If the information forum sets the beginning of a process which will lead to the elimination of such anachronisms, that will be a proof not only of good will but also of sincere desire for cooperation. Such a thing cannot but meet positive response."

In answer to the statements of the Turkish representative, which have not been based on facts, Mr. Filip Bokov said: These were statements which were in striking contrast to the constructive atmosphere of the forum. We have said a number of times that there is no Turkish national minority in Bulgaria. This position is based on historical facts, on international law, on today's realities. This position remains unchanged and it is reflected in the documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Moreover, any radio transmissions whatsoever are not jammed in Bulgaria.

The allegations of the Turkish representative are not a surprise for us, said Mr. Filip Bokov, as according to Turkey millions of Muslims—from Morocco to China, included—are Turks. Even the ancient poet Homer was proclaimed to be a Turk named Omar and the Iliad had officially been turned into a "Great Turkish Epic". And it is a well known fact that in Turkey hundreds of books, radio and television programs are banned by the authorities, maybe because their content does not correspond to similar views.

Mr. Filip Bokov said that it is incomprehensible how the otherwise rational philosophical reasoning on the freedom of information, contained in the statement of the Turkish representative, are applied in his own country. The European public said Mr. Bokov, knows very well that in the recent years a total of 3,000 journalists and writers were sentenced because of their attempts to express their views freely. There are limitations for foreign journalists, they are persecuted even maltreated at times in Turkey. Fortunately, there are non-Bulgarian journalists among them as they are not admitted to visit Turkey, said the Bulgarian representative.

He recalled that last year Bulgaria has proposed to Turkey to sign a bilateral protocol on cooperation in the sphere of information, and this proposal remains valid nowadays. The Turkish side rejected this proposal.

"Isn't it ironical, said Mr. Filip Bokov, that the country which subjects to merciless assimilation millions of Kurds and other minorities, which systematically violates the basic rights of its citizens, which oppresses the freedom of expression, teaches the others at this forum?"

Dwelling on the inadmissible situation of having one-way flow of information, the Bulgarian representative spoke about the problems of the new information and communication technologies and all legal, education, cultural and social consequences ensuing from their being introduced. It will be difficult to encourage glasnost and openness, if all 35 member-countries are not given access to the latest achievements in this field. It is difficult to combine appeals for making all kinds of information available to all individuals with the fact that whole states are deprived of the means for its circulation, he said.

Mr. Filip Bokov also pointed out that many European countries both in the East and the West are viewing with a growing concern the increase of the influence of information which endangers their cultures, values and traditions.

He stated that in Bulgaria's opinion the information forum can provide an impetus for finding new forms which will make it possible for the European peoples to gain better knowledge of each other, promoting and extending direct cooperation among the mass media, advancing cooperation in the field of information technologies, exchanging experience in journalists' work.

Press Complaints Discussed

AU2704134789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Apr 89 p 7

[Report by CTK correspondent Jan Blazik: "About Visas Issued to Journalists"]

[Text] **London—The Information Forum in London continued with deliberations in working commissions on Tuesday [25 April]. The group addressing the problems of the press was addressed by Milan Jelinek, member of the Czechoslovak delegation and head of RUDE PRAVO's Foreign Policy Department.**

He spoke, among other things, about the issuance of journalists' visas, to which the forum devotes great attention. "Many complaints have been lodged with the U.S. delegation, which, however, has not improved its visa practices thus far," Jelinek said. He showed two visa questionnaires to the members of the commission. "The first one is the questionnaire issued by the Czechoslovak authorities, which contains 12 questions. The second questionnaire, which I obtained at the U.S. Embassy in Prague, contains 36 questions," he said.

He said further that entry visa for the United States cannot be issued to certain persons, among them insane persons, drug addicts, and drug dealers. According to question No. 35 in the aforementioned questionnaire, those persons also include people who "are or were members of certain organizations, including the Communist Party." A few years ago this question used to be formulated more simply: "Are you a member of the Communist Party or other subversive organization?" The CSSR representative then said that, from the U.S. viewpoint, communist journalists have progressed from unambiguously subversive elements to the colorful pleiad of criminals, insane persons, drug addicts, and so forth. Milan Jelinek described that question in the American questionnaire as insulting. He said that it is a clear case of discrimination against journalists for their political convictions. He further informed the members of the commission that **Czechoslovakia supports proposals to speed up the issuance of journalists' visas** and that he projects that in the not too distant future the CSSR will not differentiate between journalists' and normal visas.

However, visas are only one part of the problems connected with the work of journalists, Jelinek said. Another problem is the free exchange of ideas, the free flow of information. He then proposed an exchange of articles which would be included in the press of the other country without any changes. He put stress on reciprocity, however.

In another discussion, the representative of Spain turned to the socialist countries with the request that they comprehend the needs of television teams which are, above all, after topicality. However, he stressed the need for reciprocity, because journalists from the socialist countries often encounter problems in Western countries. His standpoint was also supported by a Danish delegate. The representative of the Soviet Union drew the attention of the U.S. delegation to the fact that in its list of jailed journalists the names of journalists who are in American jails are missing. He also said that the attempts to determine the content of the discussion speeches of others, as the British delegation has been often trying to do at the forum, is at variance with the spirit of the Helsinki process.

In another commission devoted to radio, film, and television; Ivan Kulhanek spoke on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation about foreign journalists' working conditions.

In the evening, outside the conference hall, the U.S. representative admitted that the United States—with regard to some of the requirements in the visa questionnaire—is violating the Helsinki Final Act. He declared that the issuance of visas to journalists who are members of the Communist Party will be discussed in the United States. He also said that the new practice will require that the law be amended.

Zhivkov Meets Soviet Deputy Minister Aboymov
AU2704172989 Sofia BTA in English
1706 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Sofia, April 24 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP [Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, today received Mr Ivan Aboymov, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union.

They exchanged views on certain questions concerning the relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. The agenda covered also some topical international issues.

The meeting was attended by Mr Petur Mladenov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal From Hungary Observed
AU2704123289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Apr 89 pp 1, 5

[Milan Angelov, Budapest correspondent, report: "The First Units Are Moving Eastward"]

[Text] Budapest, 25 April—Numerous journalists attended the ceremony marking the beginning of the withdrawal of USSR troops from Hungary today.

Colonel Boris Adamenko told media representatives that the tank regiment commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Zaytsev will be the first to be loaded, and that it will depart today for the USSR. Some of the T-64 tanks will be used in the national economic sector, while others will serve for training in various units. Soldiers who have completed their regular military service will be discharged.

I asked Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Zaytsev, the regiment commander, to share his feelings:

[Zaytsev] We are implementing a particularly important party and government decision. Hungary is a beautiful country and we have to part with some very good friends. Nevertheless, there is nothing better than home, of course....

[Angelov] The loading operations of military technical equipment are beginning. Dozens of photographic and television cameras are focused on the railroad platform trying to record this important moment in the practical implementation of the Soviet Government's decision. I asked Sergey Arkadnev, a mechanic and driver, about his future plans:

[Arkadnev] During my military service in this unit I learned a profession which I will pursue at home: I would like to work as a mechanic in a kholkhoz. I also plan to continue my education.

[Angelov] Numerous local citizens and Hungarian soldiers have come to see off their Soviet friends.

In accordance with the agreement reached, the Soviet military command will hand over approximately 900 housing units and 19 barracks to the Hungarian Government. Nearly 40 construction projects, built by the Soviet troops with their own resources, will be released by 1990.

Parliamentary Foreign Policy Committee Meets
AU2704190189 Sofia BTA in English
1754 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Sofia, April 27 (BTA)—The National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Policy met today to consider a motion on the ratification of the 1963 Vienna Convention on Consular Relations and of the two optional protocols to it.

The committee found that this convention is an important instrument of international law which forms the basis of the effective international regulation of consular relations among states. Bulgaria's accession to the convention and to the two protocols thereto will help stabilize and promote her consular relations and her active participation in international cooperation.

The committee recommended that the State Council ratify the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, the optional protocol concerning acquisition of nationality and the optional protocol concerning the compulsory settlement of disputes, which were adopted on April 24, 1963.

The committee members were also briefed on the meeting of high officials of the Ministries of Foreign affairs of the Balkan countries, held in Tirana, and on the future objectives of inter-Balkan cooperation, which was powerfully catalyzed by the first meeting of the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan countries, held in Belgrade in 1988.

An emphasis was laid on Bulgaria's resolute support for and active part in the positive Balkan-wide process and on her substantial contribution to the further development, enrichment and irreversibility of the line adopted in Belgrade.

The committee was familiarized with the draft statute of the council for parliamentary cooperation of the European socialist countries, which has been prepared by the working group of the parliaments of five socialist countries in Europe.

CPSU Central Committee Reshuffle 'Unprecedented'
AU2804111789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 89 p 7

[Article by Lubor Kazda, RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Moscow, in the "We Comment" column: "Radical Turnover"]

[Text] What does the Tuesday [26 April] radical turnover [obmena] in the supreme Soviet party bodies mean? A weighty step, no doubt. Its extensiveness is unprecedented in the history of the CPSU; until now, neither the Central Committee nor the Central Auditing Commission have been changed between congresses to such an extent. All the greater was the attention the report on the CPSU Central Committee session elicited. As it is being stressed here, in the Soviet Union, it is, at the same time, a step that is in accordance with the demand for an efficient, practical ability of the managing bodies to influence concrete policy, and mobilize for it all components of the party and society.

At the session it was said that the CPSU Central Committee thoroughly analyzes the findings of Communists from localities, that it attentively listens to the opinions of the broad public and that it currently profoundly considers all the unusually valuable experience acquired from the recent elections. In the USSR, the elections are being described as a sort of popular referendum that clearly favors restructuring, the course that has been worked out and initiated by the CPSU, which is its driving force. However, at the same time the elections have yielded distinct stimuli for regulating the further pace of changes, for assessing specific party work in localities, the effectiveness of the party's ideological activity under the new conditions, for the party organizations themselves to influence the implementation of changes.

I think that in connection with the partial turnover in the CPSU Central Committee one more aspect is worth stressing. By its endeavor for a new moral atmosphere, the CPSU strives for the renewal of the principles of political culture, the way V.I. Lenin used to do it in the first years after the revolution.

The case of the release of the 110 longtime members of the Soviet party leadership involves merited comrades who have been working in various posts for many years, and who retired after the 27th congress. This is an affair which is sensitive from the humane point of view, which requires tact and comradely understanding. Among those who in the interest of the cause, as they themselves stressed, handed the baton of the demanding, exhausting work in central bodies to fresh forces, we read names of personalities such as Andrey Gromyko, Academician A.P. Aleksandrov, and others. These are people who had a share in the April session of the CPSU Central Committee in 1985, in working out the strategy of the 27th party congress, and in initiating its implementation.

"Many of us had to overcome the habits and stereotypes in our thinking," Mikhail Gorbachev said about the past period of the central bodies' work, and stressed that on the key questions surrounding the management of the development of society the Central Committee has passed the test. Thus, their share in the work of the Central Committee in that complex and exceptionally responsible period was rightly valued at the session. However, life does not stand still, as it was said at the CPSU Central Committee session on Tuesday, and new tasks require new, active, energetic fighters.

26 Apr Hungarian Interview With Dubcek Criticized
LD2704191489 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Last night Hungarian Television, in its "Panorama" program, showed an interview with Alexander Dubcek. The particular course of Hungarian Television is generally known. This was confirmed recently on the Hungarian Television screen where the renowned porno star, Cicciolina, also acting part-time as a member of the Italian Radical Party, accompanied the departure of a part of the Soviet troop contingent from Hungary.

Recently, this taste spread in a purely political direction and, according to the famous American saying—which is no doubt known to the authors of "Panorama"—about the pointlessness of beating a dead horse, Hungarian Television staged a discussion with Alexander Dubcek. This step might be understandable if Alexander Dubcek, who has recently demonstrated zeal in appearing in the Western communication media, said something new, if after 20 years he said something about himself and his share in the affairs he was responsible for and which, as an unsuccessful and weak politician, he led to failure. Instead, however, he sought to place the blame on Wladyslaw Gomulka and Janos Kadar. In this connection this cannot but be an indication of the internal political struggle within Hungarian society; an attempt to discredit the figure of the Hungarian politician, Janos Kadar, with whom Dubcek, measured by the current results, cannot favorably compare.

Naturally, the entire affair also concerns our—the Czechoslovak—side. Our particular sense of identity in this region of Europe, however, tells us that we should not follow the path of Hungarian Television, although we could find various opportunities for it and we would not have to revert to the reactionary period of the forties. It would be sufficient to take a look at the beginning of the fifties. We would only like to suggest to our Hungarian colleagues to consider whether, by any chance, they are not opening too many fronts of discord to the merriment of the enemies of socialism. It is certainly not in our mutual interest.

'Panorama' Program Censured

AU2804105489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Apr 89 p 2

[Jozef Lenka article: "Pondering Hungarian Television's 'Panorama' Program; Slap in the Face for Journalistic Ethics"]

[Text] Journalism, in essence, is a simple thing—seeking and expressing the truth about events and their protagonists, assessing the state of affairs, the thinking and behavior of people, drawing conclusions. However, only those colleagues who are at the pinnacle of their profession not only from the professional viewpoint, but also from the ethical viewpoint, know how difficult it is to find the truth .hat one seeks among the quantity of true and untrue facts, subjective testimonies, and people's views motivated by the variety of their interests, which a journalist must mull over in his head. Because what is really demanding in journalism is its ethics, the unwritten and yet sacred principles determining its humane mission.

All this comes into my mind when watching the regular "Panorama" programs on Hungarian Television, and not only on 17 April, when it broadcast an interview with Alexander Dubcek, the former first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, which aroused justified protests from among our public. Two weeks earlier, "Panorama" "zeroed in" on our nationality policy. Literally zeroed in on it, like shooting at a target. That was not an analysis, seeking the truth, but the implementation of a concept prepared in advance, according to which the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia is being oppressed, without equal rights and without prospects. On Monday this week in a program on the tragic events of 9 April "Panorama" settled its scores with the Soviet power in Georgia and, in a program devoted to the events in Kosovo, with the nationality policy in Yugoslavia as well. Not so long ago, the "Panorama" team, which was to make a program about domestic political developments in Romania, was not allowed to visit that country; and leaders of anticommunism have also been permitted to have their say on "Panorama"—Z. Brzezinski, who provided advice on how to weaken and inconspicuously liquidate the Warsaw Pact, or M. Djilas with his visions of the extinction of world socialism. As can be seen, matters have almost come full circle. Accordingly, evil and darkness prevail in almost all countries bordering on Hungary. Let us add—in all socialist countries, obviously precisely because they are socialist. "Panorama," namely, does not zero in on capitalist Austria in such a way.

The "Panorama" attacks on other countries are none of our business. What concerns us is what the program says about Czechoslovakia. We are being attacked and insulted. Without any elementary respect for facts, without any desirable degree of knowledge of the situation, without any attempt at a comprehensive picture, "Panorama" evaluates Czechoslovak reality, puts labels on our political system, our Communist Party, and its leadership, and intimates what we should do to carry out "real" restructuring. Through the mouths of failed politicians and ideologues it "exposes" and falsifies our recent past, outlines the process of extinction of "what used to be called socialism," and attaches "isms" to various phenomena.

We are strenuously trying to figure out the purpose and intention of all that, be it in topical or broader contexts. Is this a case of giving advice to friends, giving them the benefit of experience, or suggestions for cooperation? The experience acquired from the implementation of restructuring processes in the fraternal countries is of supreme interest to us; it is good to know what path to take and what path to avoid. And we would only welcome cooperation, specifically, for example, in improving the conditions for the further development of the national life of the members of the Hungarian minority in our country.

And what positive benefits have the aforementioned "Panorama" programs brought in that respect? Only a negation of values. The program showing the life of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia on the basis of reminiscences of a village priest, from which the clerical-fascist Slovak state emerges as best the period of their nationality development (because at that time they were represented by Earl Eszterhazy in Parliament...), and with the help of a photograph of a dilapidated, uninhabited house (taken somewhere in an urban renewal zone) really did little to help their interests. On the contrary, it cast doubt upon everything positive that has been created by a great international effort in the past 40 years, frequently even at the price of mistakes and errors, and their rectification. He sowed hatred and highlighted old conflicts caused by the bourgeois nationality policy, which the present generation does not even remember.

Sharing experience, advising, is a noble thing. But allow us to judge what experience we ourselves consider useful and what we do not, and from what sources we will draw it. For that we need neither advisers not tutors.

No matter how hard we think, we cannot find here a hint of the intention to promote the cause of restructuring, democratization, or the open flow of information to the public. In "Panorama" you only hear the monologue of its creators, even in dialogues. Everyone speaks the way the draft of the nature of the program demands, concepts fixed in advance before filming, opponents are edited out or are not even allowed to say a thing. The monopolization of the truth, the exclusion of a differing opinion—what else is that but the old attitudes which "Panorama" ostensibly so vehemently condemns? In reality it amounts to the same thing. And where the power of facts is lacking, emotions will help; a somber commentary is illustrated with weeping people, shocking scenes of destruction and horror.

A program has been announced for tonight, in which "Panorama" Chief Editor Alajos Chrudinak is to react to the "stormy response" that the interview with Dubcek broadcast last Monday has elicited. Will he remember the principle that is valid in our journalistic profession, according to which the yardstick for authors' credibility and responsibility is their awareness of their own shortcomings? Judging by further interviews planned with A. Dubcek and M. Djilas, this will hardly be the case. Thus, the slaps in the face of journalistic ethics continue.

Further Press Protests

AU2604105489

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 25 April on page 2, under the headline "A Distorted Evaluation of Events; Negative Views on A. Dubcek's Appearance on Hungarian Television," carries additional statements by Hungarian-speaking Czechoslovak citizens, totaling 800 words, on the interview with Alexander Dubcek which Hungarian Television broadcast on 17 April. It is the fifth consecutive PRAVDA issue to carry such statements.

Alexander Szabo, a worker from Sala, for instance, expresses "great astonishment" at the fact that Hungarian Television interviewed Dubcek and deplores that "with this program, Hungarian Television incorrectly informed the general public, especially our youth, which did not experience the political and social developments in 1968." Szabo also voices his view that such programs "do not contribute to strengthening internationalist alliance."

Michal Varady, deputy to the CSSR Federal Assembly, is quoted as having said at a meeting in Sladkovicovo on 21 April that "the aim of the program was to belittle our efforts at restructuring and to cause destruction [destrukcia] in people's minds, both in our country and in the Hungarian People's Republic."

Jan Icso, chairman of an agricultural cooperative in southern Slovakia, says that "by its programs, Hungarian Television interferes in other people's affairs, instead of helping to solve the political and economic problems in the Hungarian People's Republic, which are plentiful."

The view that the program provided a distorted evaluation of the events in Czechoslovakia 20 years ago and that it did not contribute to "goodneighborly relations" and to the "internationalist cohesion of socialist states" is expressed also in the other statements quoted by PRAVDA.

Jakes Tours Enterprises in East Slovakia

AU2704150389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Apr 89 pp 1, 2

[Eduard Drabik and Vaclav Pergl report: "The Basis Is Honest Work and Creative Thinking; 2d Day of the Visit by Milos Jakes to the East Slovak Region"]

[Excerpts] Kosice—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, began the 2d day of his working visit to the East Slovak region by paying a visit to the East Slovak Ironworks in Kosice. [passage omitted]

Milos Jakes inspected the installation of blast furnace no. 1, which has a volume of 1,864 cubic meters, and which, after a general overhaul, will smelt an average of around 3,500 tonnes of pig iron per day. [passage omitted]

In the control room, from where the production of pig iron is automatically controlled with the aid of computer technology, Jan Lizak who services the equipment handed him a socialist pledge from the blast furnace workers. In it they promise to reduce the fuel requirements of the production of pig iron by around 5 kg per tonne, which represents savings of Kcs24 million this year. [passage omitted] Comrade Jakes thanked them for the pledge and added further: "It is obvious that you correctly understand the restructuring of the economic mechanism, its purpose, and aims—to produce better but, at the same time, more cheaply."

In the cold sheet rolling mill, which produces rolled plates for the automobile and food industries, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee also chatted with the workforce in many places about how they understand restructuring. [passage omitted]

"Everywhere it is essential to realize that the kind of reward he will receive for his work depends on each individual. Everyone must start with himself, work skillfully, do everything that he can do, and not transfer responsibility onto someone else. The party Central Committee and the government will not accomplish restructuring on their own. They can adopt the decisions which are essential for it, but people in all workplaces must then fulfill them."

Afterward, a meeting with party functionaries, the trade unions, the Socialist Youth Union, the economic management, and representatives of socialist labor brigades and the working collectives took place. [passage omitted]

Jan Toth, chairman of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] basic organization from the cold sheet rolling mill, condemned the Alexander Dubcek's appearance on Hungarian Television: "After 20 years he is again trying to get into the political scene and is trying to win popularity. However, the people have not forgotten how it was in the crisis years." [passage omitted]

Comrade Jakes made a speech at the end of the discussion. He highlighted the enterprise's economic results and its approach toward the modernization of technological equipment and toward the innovation of products that are necessary for our national economy and also attractive from the point of view of exports. For example, plates for the food industry and plates with various coatings which find wide application.

When he spoke about the necessity for fundamental structural changes in the economy, he made the comment that not even metallurgical production will avoid them. In the gradual reduction of production it will be essential to radically increase its quality so that the products of Czechoslovak engineering are competitive by virtue of their weight, technical level, and utility qualities, and all of this must be done while reducing energy requirements and the consumption of metals, and while improving the environment. In this connection, he welcomed the fact that systematic attention is being paid to ecological questions in the East Slovak Ironworks, that they are more and more frequently utilizing secondary raw materials, and that they are recycling waste.

In conclusion, Comrade Milos Jakes highly praised the work of the enterprise party organization. He expressed the conviction that in the pre-congress period it will manage to activate the membership base even more and that by its contribution the East Slovak Ironworks will become a real pillar of the Czechoslovak economy. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon, Milos Jakes traveled to Presov where the first stop was made at the Robot International Research and Development Association. It evolved 4 years ago on the basis of an agreement between the CSSR and USSR Governments on cooperation in the sphere of the development of automated processes and flexible manufacturing systems. [passage omitted]

Milos Jakes highly praised the contribution of the association to the development of the economies of both countries, and stressed that it is an example for founding other similar organizations. "Beside production sharing, this is the main path of cooperation. As your results demonstrate, this is a realistic and correct path, and now the issue will be to make sure that your experiences are disseminated as quickly as possible and are used in practice. I also discussed this with Comrade Gorbachev during my recent visit to the Soviet Union," he said.

In the Captain Nalepka Clothing Factories state enterprise, which Comrade Jakes visited next, the main topic of conversation in the workplaces was also the current issue of restructuring. [passages omitted]

After visiting the Captain Nalepka Clothing Factories state enterprise, the CPCZ Central Committee first secretary returned to Kosice. [passage omitted]

Here Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, welcomed him. [passages omitted]

"How are the people of Kosice?", Milos Jakes stopped at a group of women with this question. "We are fine, but there are problems which it is necessary to solve, especially in the quality of services and in transport," came back a reply from the crowd. "It is possible to resolve all the problems, but we must all lend a helping hand together. We must not wait until someone else does it for us," said Milos Jakes. [passage omitted]

During the evening Milos Jakes and Ignac Janak met with representatives of city party and state organs in the Jakabov Palace. In a cordial atmosphere they discussed the main tasks of the development of the city.

Jakes Ends Visit

LD2604134989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 26 Apr 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, ended his working visit to the East Slovak region and left for Prague. In Kosice he took part this morning in a regional seminar of party organ officials and the East Slovak Regional National Committee.

Jakes Addresses Pioneers on Founding Anniversary

AU2704143889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Apr 89 p 3

["Preparing for Life Must Start in Childhood; Statement by Comrade Milos Jakes at the Rally in Honor of the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the Pioneer Organization," held in Prague on 20 April]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, dear young friends, first of all allow me to greet you most cordially on behalf of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], the Central Committee of the National Front, CSSR President Comrade Gustav Husak, the Federal Government, and on my own behalf and to sincerely congratulate you, and through you all Sparklets [Jiskry], Pioneers, and the Pioneer staff on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Pioneer organization. At the same time we greet all members of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] and the entire young generation in our state, who endorse the ideals of socialism and who are striving to implement them in practical activity. The Pioneer organization is celebrating the anniversary of its establishment together with the SSM, which was founded at the merger conference in April 1949. On this occasion we recall the symbolic fact that both these organizations were born on the eve of the Ninth CPCZ Congress, which set the general line of building socialism in our country. Thus both organizations were an inseparable part of the working people's struggles and efforts for the victory and development of socialism in our country from the very beginning. Since that time profound changes in the interests of working man have taken place in Czechoslovakia; and the Pioneer and SSM organizations—which have become the school of collective life and work, of independence and responsibility for millions of boys and girls, and also a significant force in the political system of our society—have contributed to these changes very considerably. Many outstanding figures in all sectors, many heroes of socialist labor,

workers, farmers, innovators and improvers, prominent technicians and engineers, scientists, physicians, teachers, artists and sportsmen, and economic and state figures have come from their ranks. The great construction projects of socialism during the first 5-year plans will be forever linked with the youth of our republic, as will the vast efforts to develop the shock-worker movement and to promote an honest attitude to learning and to work. We are glad to encounter examples of this even today. All those who helped and are helping to develop the Pioneer and SSM organizations—selflessly, mostly in their spare time, with dedication and love for the children and for their socialist fatherland—deserve our great appreciation and the sincere gratitude of our whole society. In a few days they will be receiving state awards, on which we wholeheartedly congratulate them.

A More Energetic Solution of Problems

However, like our entire society, the Pioneer and SSM have traversed in the past 40 years a road paved not only with successes, but also with mistakes, shortcomings, and various trials. The crisis-ridden period toward the end of the sixties, when the very foundations of socialism in our country were under threat, was the most serious of them all. The way out was shown by the CPCZ Central Committee session in April 1969—we are now commemorating its 20th anniversary—which elected Comrade Gustav Husak to head the CPCZ Central Committee and established prerequisites for starting the process of consolidation and of leading our society onto the path of further socialist advancement. This also laid the foundations for renewing the unity of the children's and youth movement, which the right-wing and antisocialist forces had succeeded in disrupting in the crisis-ridden years.

If we critically assess the path we have traversed, we do so in order to learn for the present and the future. On no account does this mean a disparagement of the dedicated work of preceding generations, of the results achieved in building socialism within the framework of the country's economic and cultural advancement, in improving our people's living standards and providing for their vital and social security. At the same time we make no secret of the fact that these results could have been far better.

Nevertheless, we must realize that life does not stand still, that it is constantly bringing new demands and setting new tasks. We are recalling the 40th anniversary of the Pioneer organization in a busy, dynamic period, in which we both witness and directly participate in profound revolutionary transformations on a domestic and an international scale. Socialism has reached a new stage of development. In order to raise it to a qualitatively higher level, we must master and apply new approaches, fearlessly and critically reassess things that have proved unsuitable, and energetically get rid of entrenched stereotype methods, of inertia, of all that has been overcome and become obsolete, all that has not passed the test of life and is hampering our country's development. The problems and shortcomings that have accumulated in the economic and social spheres must be dealt with more quickly.

We must proceed more resolutely in combining socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution, and do everything to enable socialism to comprehensively prove its advantages and possibilities, so that the socioeconomic development of our society can gather the desirable broad dynamism, and so that the people's material and spiritual needs can be increasingly met. We want socialism in our country to be increasingly strong and attractive, we want the socialist principles to be consistently applied everywhere, and we also want Czechoslovakia's international status to be strengthened further. This is the purpose of the economic and social restructuring on which we have embarked in the spirit of the conclusions of the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee session. We regard its consistent, total implementation as essential, since the future fate of our country depends on it. It is primarily a matter of implementing the economic reform, of promoting the broad democratization of political, social, and spiritual life, and of extensively applying socialist self-management. Practical changes have gradually started to take root in all these spheres. The establishment of state enterprises is underway, the elections of directors and self-management bodies are being held, the organization of central agencies is also undergoing certain changes. The activities of the National Front are becoming more energetic and the powers and responsibilities of the national committees are being enhanced, particularly in the basic units. Emphasis is placed on the development of a broad flow of information to the general public and on public control. The recent 13th CPCZ Central Committee session considered the present progress of restructuring, the results, the acquired experience, and the overall evaluation of the situation in the party and society. The basic thing that emerged from its deliberations was that the adopted decisions and measures must be carried out far more responsibly, and the problems, weaknesses, and shortcomings which crop up must be tackled more vigorously. At the same time we must combine the process of restructuring and democratization with the consistent accomplishment of current socioeconomic tasks, with which we still cannot be satisfied. It is essential to achieve a change in this, since it is only thus that we can establish realistic conditions for accelerating the socioeconomic development of our society as stipulated by the 17th CPCZ Congress.

Young People's Abilities and Interest Are Decisive

Every day we are able to convince ourselves more and more thoroughly of the demanding nature of the restructuring process, of the great political, economic, and organizational effort demanded by it, and of the profound changes in thinking, everyday practices, and the grasp of the real values of socialism involved in it. It also involves extremely responsible work in which there is no

place for rashness and haste, for marking time, or for unwillingness to tackle problems and undertake necessary risks. Even more unacceptable for us are the various endeavors, pressures, and antisocial actions that are aimed at misusing restructuring and democratization in order to destroy socialist values and destabilize the society. We have stressed time and again that we are fully in favor of a frank, democratic dialogue as a significant prerequisite for our society's faster progress. But this can be achieved only by a kind of dialogue and criticism that is conducted honestly and responsibly, and not directed against the revolutionary achievements of our people and against the substance of the socialist system. Our road is the road of socialist development and of strengthening socialism. We stressed this once again in the Appeal on the 41st Anniversary of Victorious February 1948, which met with vigorous response and support among our general public and our youth. Today the main thing is to constantly unite the society's forces for a consistent implementation of the policy of economic and social restructuring, for honest and constructive work for socialism and peace.

Restructuring naturally deeply affects the people's interests and needs and also has a considerable impact on the thoughts and views of the upcoming younger generation. Hence the young people's interest in learning the truth about our history and our present, and particularly about their own future. We must recognize that it is not always easy to grasp the development to date, with all its positive features and shortcomings, or the complicated and contradictory nature of our present times; that it is not always easy to find one's orientation in what is happening at home and in the world, or to find one's right place in life. This is all the more true for a young person who lacks sufficient experience in life. It is necessary to give the young people a frank and honest answer to these questions, so as to teach them what is progressive and what is not, and thus prevent any possibility of their being manipulated and misused for antisocial actions. This is all the more urgent, since every young generation significantly influences the life of the society by its activities, its enthusiasm, and its sense of the new. That is why the Communist Party always regards everything that concerns the life, training, and self-assertion of the younger generation as an inseparable, important part of its program. We will again devote great attention to the entire scope of these issues at the 18th CPCZ Congress.

In our socialist society the young people—both boys and girls—have the same chance to assert themselves, regardless of their social origin or nationality. The main thing are their real talents, their willingness to learn and work, their interest in doing so, their refusal to be satisfied with mediocrity, their wish to have an honest and committed attitude toward the needs of the whole society. This is what must be generally decisive for the assessment of every young person's qualities, for his assertion.

It is currently an exceptionally significant task to raise the young people's readiness for life and work to a higher level. The prime issue is to combine education with diligence, and rational behavior with deep emotional and moral values. Only this kind of balanced and harmonious understanding of upbringing and training can lead to the desired goal. This concerns the whole society, above all the family and the school. However, our mass communications media and the entire sphere of culture and arts must realize their responsibility. In this it is necessary always to revert to the ideas of the 10th and 13th CPCZ Central Committee sessions, which dealt with the development of ideological work and of the Czechoslovak school system under the conditions of restructuring, and to purposefully implement their conclusions in practice. It is essential for everybody to understand upbringing and education as one of the decisive factors of restructuring, of the intensification of the economy, the acceleration of socioeconomic development, the growth of the society's overall cultural standards, and the development of socialist democracy.

Education Through History Is Essential

It is frequently said that the younger generation, which was born and grew up under socialism, regards its achievements as a matter of course and critically appraises everything around it. In this context I would like to say that it is a good thing that it had no need to learn from its own experience, as their elders had to, about the conditions of working man under the capitalist social system, to experience the sufferings and hardships of war, or to live through the complicated period at the beginning of socialist construction. However, it is all the more necessary to familiarize our youth with the road that has been traveled by our people, with the many sacrifices that had to be made in order to renew our national freedom and state independence, and with the great effort and dedicated work embodied in our socialist present. Generally speaking, it must be stressed that education through history, and the illumination of the progressive, humanitarian traditions of our nations and of the legacy left by the great personalities of our history, are an essential school for young people—a reliable guideline for shaping their attitude to the real values of life and for overcoming negativist attitudes toward the results of our people's work.

An indivisible part of this is the effort to cultivate and develop in the young people, from their very childhood, feelings of national pride, patriotism, and internationalism, the sense of the brotherhood and affinity of our nations and nationalities and of profound relationship toward the country of their birth, and the endeavor to help it to prosper by creative work. This socialist patriotism, this love for one's native, home country greatly influence every person's criteria and scale of values, and are of irreplaceable significance for the young people's correct orientation in life and politics.

A few days ago we recalled the 50th anniversary of what was a tragic event for our nations—the occupation of the Czechoslovak Republic by fascist Germany. The circumstances that preceded it, and the difficult times that

followed, affirmed our people's conviction that only firm friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union can be a reliable external guarantee of our national freedom and state independence. This historical lesson, which fully applies to the present and the future, must be passed on from generation to generation and the younger generation must be raised in its spirit. This is also one of the primary tasks of our children's and youth organizations.

Demands Cannot Be Reduced

It is only natural that one must help young people to resolve their problems and cope with their worries, and also establish conditions for satisfying their interests. Our society is spending considerable resources on this. However, our concern for youth cannot mean that we court popularity or reduce the demands placed on young people. This would be harmful both for the younger generation and for our whole society. On the contrary, it is necessary to raise demands in respect of the young people's creative work and studies, their responsibility for their conduct and acts of civic discipline, and their improving their manners and behavior in public, in the family, at school, among their peers, and in their contacts with other citizens.

We cannot fail to see that things are not always as they should be. We encounter signs of a cavalier approach to life, to studies and work, we encounter tendencies to see only one's own, personal benefit, vandalism, vulgarity, and parasitism, but also emotional coldness toward people, toward one's own country, its development, and its defense—that is, phenomena that have nothing in common with real values in life or with honest relations among the people. To fight against them successfully means not only to protect the youth against their influence and expansion, but also to mobilize against them the forces of youth collectives themselves. The role and example of their elders is and always will be of exceptional significance in this. Of course, the primary duty and responsibility for raising children lies with the family. Nothing can replace a good family background in the healthy and harmonious growth of the younger generation. Another thing is that the material aspect of providing for family care for the children should not prevail, but would go hand in hand with emotional upbringing, with the creation of correct ethical values and qualities of a young person's personality. It is desirable to strengthen the younger generation's awareness that it is not decisive to demand and make conditions, to wait for other people to cope with tasks and to solve problems, but to know how to do something well, to want to make use of one's own talents and knowledge for the benefit of the society, to contribute toward improving one's own conditions in life. In order to enhance the young people's initiative and interests it is essential to entrust to them the responsibility for solving the tasks of the entire society. The Communist Party, the National Front, and the socialist state will also assist in this.

In this context we consider it right to implement in the SSM the approaches, methods, and forms of work as contained in the SSM Central Committee document "Our Program—Restructuring and Democratization." It characterizes the SSM's main tasks in the present period and suggests new initiatives and activities that correspond to the current needs of our society, and also benefit the younger generation itself. It is good that both the SSM's district conferences and the staffs of the Pioneer organization have fully endorsed this program. But the important thing is to consistently put into practice all the good ideas of the Program, above all in places that are decisive for the results of work accomplished by the SSM and its Pioneer organization—in their primary units. At the same time we must see that our young people are organized members of other National Front organizations, too, and not only of the SSM; all these organizations should do well to consider how to improve and strengthen, in collaboration with the SSM and its Pioneer organization, their comprehensive approach to work with youth and how to utilize for this both purposefully and effectively the existing possibilities and facilities that are at the disposal of National Front organizations.

One of the main society-wide tasks is to speedily implement and utilize the results of science and technology in practice. To a substantial extent, this is the prerequisite for radically enhancing the efficiency of the national economy, the growth of labor productivity, the improvement of technical standards, quality, and economy of production, and the competitiveness of products on foreign markets. These are most significant issues and their decisive solution must not be put off if we do not want to be left behind, if we want to keep in step with the rapid development of the scientific-technical revolution in the world. This must become a matter of everyday effort. We will again be dealing with these problems at the CPCZ Central Committee session this year.

The young people are developing considerable activities in the sphere of scientific-technical progress. Their natural interest in science and technology, from Pioneer age onward, must be further developed and supported. This is a task for our economic, state, and social agencies and organizations, for our scientific-research workplaces, enterprises, and the Scientific-Technical Society. In this context we must also not forget the important role played by schools, but also by the SSM and its Pioneer organization.

In the same context I would like to express appreciation for the positive results achieved in the accomplishment of certain tasks which arose from the Program for Developing Children's and Youth Participation in Scientific-Technical Development, adopted by the CSSR Government Presidium and the SSM Central Committee Secretariat. However, despite the efforts of the SSM and its Pioneer organization, the number of such good examples is not as large as we would need. At the same time the successful implementation of the Program does

not lie in carrying out partial or isolated activities, but in a comprehensive approach to scientific-technical development, in the full utilization of the young people's creative talents and ideas, and in the new economic conditions brought about by the restructuring of our economic mechanism. Here I have particularly in mind such projects as the Account for Young People's Initiative, the clubs of young people's scientific-technical activities, and the further development of the Zenit movement [for youth scientific-technical activities].

Comrades, the Pioneer organization was able to successfully fulfill its mission primarily when it fully proceeded from the children's needs, wishes, and interests; when it was able to bring the ideals of socialism and such values as respect for work, for their parents, and for older people, the sense of justice, and pride in the progressive features of our country and in its belonging to the forces of socialism and peace closer to the values of their children's world and emotions, in a comprehensive and lively way. This is also one of the key tasks today. The point is that the Pioneer and SSM organizations must be true children's and young people's organizations, and not only by virtue of their members' age, but also, and primarily, by virtue of their enthusiasm and their forms and methods of work, which must be lively and attractive. It is particularly important to see to it that all members of the Pioneer and SSM organizations are able to responsibly decide about the activities of their organizations, without being lectured at, or prevented from implementing their own creative approaches.

It is necessary to comprehensively support and develop the children's natural curiosity and inquisitiveness, their competitiveness, and, as has already been mentioned, their talents in the field of science and technology, but also in environmental care, sports, and so on. All this must be closely linked to school life.

In this context great attention must be devoted to the development of special interest activities, as an effective way to enhance our influence on children and adolescents. The SSM's Pioneer organization should come out with an initiative showing how to better unify forces and means in the interests of raising our youngest generation.

I wish to emphasize that in this country there is only one kind of child, and that our care is for all these children—they all should be able to spend their free time in a useful and cultivated manner; and their own organization, with the effective aid of others, should create the necessary conditions for this. However, it should also prepare them for work under the conditions of restructuring and democratization. Self-management, independence, new thinking, and healthy relations between the people must not be mere textbook slogans for our young people, they must characterize the everyday practices and activities of the SSM and its Pioneer organization. Sparklets and Pioneers in youth centers and various groups should be encouraged to be more independent; they must be taught leadership, and how to harmonize the interests of the individual and the collective. They will need independence and the ability to decide, direct, and control in their future life, in order to assert themselves in their jobs and in society.

At the same time we are aware that group leaders are of decisive significance in improving the work of every Pioneer organization. The children regard them as reliable older friends to whom they can turn for advice and help—as persons who can understand, respect, and fully develop the natural qualities of boys and girls. In short, a good Pioneer worker must know a lot, and be able to do a lot. This is why we regard responsible and committed work with children and young people in their free time as one of the most significant political tasks.

It is necessary to create the necessary conditions for the work of Pioneer leaders everywhere—not only verbally, but also through specific approaches, understanding, and appreciation. We know that here, too, there is a lot to rectify. This, too, is one of the important tasks of the Communist Party, of other political parties and social organizations rallied in the National Front, of the state and economic bodies. And if we must not neglect today any single thing in rearing and educating those who will take over the baton of building socialism in our fatherland at the turn of this millenium, then we must also not fail to do everything for those who are directly training and studying for these tasks.

Great Significance of the Soviet Union's Experience

Comrades, we have begun the economic and social restructuring process above all from the viewpoint of the internal needs of our society. At the same time we are not losing sight of its broader international connections. It is the prerequisite for further enhancing Czechoslovakia's contribution to the solution of mankind's contemporary global problems and to the consolidation of the positions of socialism and peace in the world. At the same time, the successful attainment of goals which we have set ourselves also depends on the development of international relations, on the preservation of peaceful conditions for life and work.

It is the historic merit of the CPSU, its leadership, and Mikhail Gorbachev personally, that they were the first to start overcoming the existing international political stereotypes and to apply a fundamentally new policy in interstate relations, a policy that has become known as the new political thinking. This approach, based on the understanding of realities in our present divided but interdependent world—an approach with which the socialist countries profoundly identify themselves—has already brought positive changes in the international situation. Czechoslovakia welcomes the normalization process in international relations, it fully supports it, and it will continue to contribute energetically to its development.

On the basis of the practical steps already taken in the direction of disarmament, and on the basis of other agreements which have either been already signed or are in the offing, the world now has a historic opportunity to prove that the purpose of scientific-technical advancement is to build, and not destroy; that wars are not inevitable; and that the road toward progress and the nations' security does not lead via confrontations, but lies in the practical solution of controversial issues, in peaceful, mutually advantageous cooperation, regardless of the differences in social systems and with full respect for universal human interests.

These questions formed the contents of our joint negotiations with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow this week. There we devoted great attention to the exchange of views on the issues of restructuring and democratization both in Czechoslovakia and in the Soviet Union. As for restructuring, here our goals are concurrent with those of our Soviet comrades. At the same time we naturally take our conditions and specific features into account. However, the experience acquired by the Soviet Union, the first to take the road of economic and social restructuring, is of great significance for us. We also dealt in detail with the further improvement of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical, and other areas. We agreed on the conclusion that, despite the high level of this cooperation, it is desirable to proceed in it with even greater consistency, so that our mutual collaboration would fully correspond to the demands, but also the possibilities, of our times.

The comprehensive development and further enhancement of the level of our cooperation with the Soviet Union is of vital significance for us. We will do everything we can to implement in it the most effective, efficient forms. Herein, too, the SSM must feel its share of responsibility.

On the whole, I would like to say that our negotiations in Moscow were characterized by complete identity of views on all issues under consideration. They were based on the awareness that we are taking the right road, on which we will proceed with full responsibility and determination.

Esteemed comrades, the program of restructuring and democratization provides wide scope for developing the interests, talents, and creative forces of the younger generation; but it opens realistic prospects of future life also for the youngest generation. It corresponds to the young people's sense of the new and progressive, to their ambition to assert themselves in their jobs and in society. However, nothing gets accomplished by itself. Economic and social restructuring is simultaneously a program of highly responsible, persistent work. It demands, and will demand also in the future, that we overcome obstacles and difficulties. We must count on the emergence of other, new issues, for which we will have to find the necessary solutions.

It is known that young people are not afraid of difficulties, that they like to prove what they can do, that they like to assert themselves. Youth, socialism, progress, and peace go together. The CPCZ fully counts on in the future as well the positive role of the younger generation, which represents a significant social force in our society.

That is why you should take our present congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Pioneer and SSM organizations as sincere appreciation, and an expression of gratitude for your work. At the same time you should take them as an appeal to contribute with even greater initiative, determination, and responsibility to the accomplishment of tasks which are lying in store for us, in the interests of a happy and fulfilled life for our children and young people, for all our people.

Our solemn gathering is taking place on the eve of the 119th anniversary of Vladimir Ilich Lenin's birthday. In this connection I would like to recall that it is the honorable, revolutionary task of our younger generation to be a follower of Lenin's, to make his ideas, expressed in the program of restructuring, one's own, and to learn and work for their implementation

Janak Addresses Young Pioneers in Bratislava

AU2704121989

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 26 April on pages 1 and 2 carries the 2,000-word "Speech by Comrade Ignac Janak," member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, at a festive meeting held in the Klement Gottwald Central House of Pioneers and the Youth in Bratislava on 25 April to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the pioneer organization in Czechoslovakia. In his speech, Janak greets and congratulates the Pioneers on their anniversary and pays tribute to the "significant contribution" of the Pioneer movement "to the building efforts of our people" and to its "meritorious work in the socialist education of our young generation."

Janak also discusses the demands that the present period places on young people, welcomes the pioneer organization's support for the program of the Communist Party and its determination to make its activity "even more attractive and effective," and assures the pioneer organizations of party support. In conclusion, Janak expresses his confidence that the Pioneer organization will honor the forthcoming 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising with "broad-based initiative and activity" that will promote young people's political commitment, civic responsibility, and determination to work to the best of its abilities.

Fojtik, Lenart Address Communist Deputies

AU2704150289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Apr 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Club of Communist Deputies of the CSSR Federal Assembly Held Meeting"]

[Text] Prague—The Club of Communist Deputies of the CSSR Federal Assembly held a meeting in Prague on Tuesday [25 April]. Jan Marko, chairman of the club, presided over the meeting. Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, spoke about the topical tasks of ideological work and the educational system under the conditions of social restructuring arising from the 10th and 13th sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. He stressed that the party's entire ideological work must be in accordance with the process of restructuring our society, and that it must become the mobilizing force and catalyst for change, it must function as a unifying factor, and concentrate creative forces on the realization of restructuring. He also spoke about the international political ramifications of the social changes which are under way in the socialist countries. In this connection, he rejected constructions on the basis of which reactionary forces in the West delineate criteria for supporting some socialist countries, and taking some action or another against others, or even punishing others.

To the question of what ensures the constructive character of restructuring, we have an unequivocal answer—it is its Leninist character, he said further. The concept of restructuring relies on the Leninist perception of socialism as a social system whose key place is taken up by the the working people. We must combine the interpretation of restructuring all the more distinctly with real democratization, and not hesitate to implement measures which lead to the activation of the National Front, to the involvement of the broad strata of the people in all public and political affairs, to the development of open policy and broad information perceived from a Leninist point of view, with emphasis on the strengthening of socialist values.

In connection with the deepening and further development of our political system, he said, we do not see the need to return to the bourgeois-type parliamentary system with its well-known rivalries between political parties. We went through this historical stage and our experience of it is largely negative. We need productive democracy with a work-oriented socialist parliament which represents the working people. Productive representative bodies in villages, cities, districts, and regions must be an organic part of that system. Executive organs of state power must work under their supervision.

In his speech Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, addressed the current tasks of communists in restructuring the economic mechanism. He recalled the reasons why it is necessary to restructure our society's economic mechanism with emphasis on the main directions of the economic changes in the present period. He spoke in detail about the role of the human factor in developing the socialist economy, and about the need for a certain renaissance in production relations, while quickly going over to the intensive type of the national economic model. He stressed that one of the fundamental prerequisites for the positive development of those processes is the profound knowledge of the effect of the law of value in all its complexity, and its application in management practice.

In the conclusions which the club adopted, the deputies voiced their full support for the Proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st Anniversary of the Victorious February, and unequivocally condemned the activation and activity of hostile antisocialist forces which are trying to disturb the process of social restructuring and the tranquil work of our people.

Government Views Revised State Plan, Budget

LD2704164389 Prague CTK in English 1430 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Prague April 27 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government discussed at its session today the course and results of Pemier Ladislav Adamec's visit to the German Democratic Republic on April 17-18, and approved the protocol on his talks there and the agreement on the implementation of the conclusions adopted in March 1988 and concerning extension of economic and scientific- technological cooperation between the two countries.

With regard to the changing economic conditions it has been necessary to revise the state plan and at the same time the state budget. The government today approved the revision of the state plan and discussed the draft budget revision.

The government also discussed a bill on the Czechoslovak state bank which envisages separation of the emitting activity of the central bank and the credit activity of commercial and savings banks. The government draft will be submitted to the Federal Assembly for further debate.

Fire Destroys USSR Friendship Building

AU2704153689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Apr 89 p 2

["(ada)"-signed report: "Fire in Prague-9"]

[Text] Prague (our correspondent)—On Tuesday [25 April] officials and staff of the municipal district committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society [SCSP] and the Czechoslovak Socialist Party in Prague-9

experienced an unexpected morning: Their burned-down secretariat building awaited them. By that time the fire had already been extinguished and the building had been rendered safe by members of the police force.

According to Jana Pavlikova, secretary of the SCSP municipal district committee, the secretariat staff had left the building on Monday at around 1900, and everything was then in order. The fire broke out around 2100. Its costs are not quite in the hundreds of thousands [currency not specified], but it has provided officials of both organizations with many problems. And not only them. The acrid smell of smoke, puddles of water everywhere from the firemen's intervention, and a completely burned-out warehouse—this is what people going to work saw.

Light shades literally twisted like paper toys, a destroyed electricity meter, and bared brickwork instead of plaster in the warehouse room betrayed the intensity of the flames. Luckily, the fire was contained before the whole property caught fire. The circumstances of the fire are being investigated.

First Multicandidate Elections Praised
AU2704174589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by Marie Konigova and Daniela Mannova in the "On a Current Issue" column: "Elections as an Experiment"]

[Excerpts] In the by-elections for legislative bodies—the two chambers of the Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Councils—held on Thursday [20 April], 13 new deputies were elected. More than 800,000 voters in 13 constituencies gave them their votes.

Some elements of the new electoral system now being prepared were to be tested in these elections—those whose applications our valid laws make possible. This primarily concerns a choice of two or more candidates and furthermore, the fact that a ballot to which no alterations are made—that is, on which the voter did not cross out any candidate—is valid and is counted as a vote for the top-listed candidate (this election method was used fairly frequently). [passage omitted]

On Thursday, 20 April, voters for the first time actually chose their representative in the highest legislative bodies. Existing laws gave them this right even earlier but, in practical life, the selection of candidates was entrusted to National Front agencies, which then jointly proposed only one candidate for a given constituency. This election procedure, which only gave the people the possibility of voting or not voting for the candidate, has often been the target of citizens' criticism.

However, citizens also objected to a number of other things connected with this: to the attempt, for instance, to at any price have all age and professional groups represented in the representative bodies. This not only caused difficulties in the constituencies in the search for "suitable" candidates but, more importantly, many of these people then did not acquit themselves well in their work as deputies, for they were elected just to meet the quotas. [passage omitted]

On the road to a consistent democratization of society, it is necessary to suppress everything that is formal, that ties us down, and that impedes further development. We want the largest possible number of people to take an active part in the policy of our state. To this end it is necessary to use all democratic elements and to return to the elections their original sense.

Immediately after the decision to hold multicandidate elections, a wide-ranging initiative of political parties and social organizations associated in the National Front started to evolve in the 13 constituencies concerned. For the first time, no one from the center told them what sort of candidates to nominate or according to which key to select them.

A total of 120 candidates were nominated in all constituencies, out of whom the National Front district committees selected 20. Twelve of them were workers and cooperative farmers, 5 were senior managers, 2 were physicians, and 1 out of 2 female candidates was nominated by the women's union.

The very fact that organizations nominated over 100 candidates for the broader selection ended the fears that there might not be anyone to choose from. The subsequent preelection meetings and the elections themselves demonstrated that the quality of the selection was truly good.

However, other fears also surfaced. In constituencies with three candidates, the likelihood was much smaller of any one of them receiving the absolute majority of votes. But the elections in Teplice and in Trinec helped to dismiss such fears. The deputies received 57.6 percent (Lubos Behalek in Teplice) and 66 percent (Gustav Pilch in Trinec) of the vote, respectively. Their rival candidates received, in the first case, 13.2 and 26.8 percent of the vote and, in the second case, 7.7 and 21.6 percent. Also, in all the constituencies with two candidates to choose from, deputies were elected by the necessary absolute majority of votes. Naturally, the course of the elections was quite unequivocal where one candidate was fielded (with more than 95 percent of the vote for the candidate). This may be evidence of the nomination of the best possible candidate for the seat, or it may be evidence that adherence to the previous practice causes people's lack of interest—they have no one to choose from—and their formal casting of the ballot.

The weakest element of the "election campaigns" was, as has become apparent, the portion that is most important to voters' decisionmaking: rallies in factories and citizens' meetings where candidates introduce themselves.

For the sake of objectivity, it must be said that there was not enough time for this, for in only roughly 3 weeks the candidates had to participate in scores of events.

The candidates surely learned much at these meetings. Although they did not have a program of their own and, thus, the possibility of standing out from the others in any pronounced way or of winning voters over to their side, they still definitely learned much about the needs of their constituencies. They gained self-confidence and learned to reply to comments and to respond to various situations in which they find themselves as deputies to the Federal Assembly or to the national councils. This is even though the majority of questions centered on communal issues and concerned only local problems, which evidently testifies to the fact that citizens had not been adequately familiarized with the significance of elections to legislative bodies. This probably also was the greatest failing of the organizers of these by-elections.

Giving people a chance to choose from two or three candidates does not yet mean that elections are democratic. It is necessary to draw people even further into active participation in meetings by giving them greater scope for getting to know the candidates, but also more information on what casting a vote for one of them will mean. [passage omitted] It is also necessary to give voters a chance to really judge the qualifications and abilities of several candidates so that mere personal sympathies do not play the main role in their decision, to which they are led by superficial introductions at formalistic meetings. Indeed, there were even such meetings. [passage omitted]

These by-elections were to demonstrate, and also demonstrated, the viability and even necessity of a choice from several candidates. This found its expression in people's greater interest in the elections. The National Front organizations also were far more active. The experiment undoubtedly fulfilled its purpose.

'Socialism' Omitted From Solidarity Platform

AU2704085589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Apr 89 p 7

[CTK report: "Along the Beaten Track; The Election Platform of the So-Called Solidarity Citizens' Committee"]

[Text] Warsaw—The so-called citizens' committee of the revamped Polish trade union Solidarity, the main element of Polish opposition, published in Warsaw on Monday [24 April] its platform prior to the parliamentary elections which will take place on 4 June of this year. However, not once in the entire 9-page document of the Polish opposition, as was the case with the Solidarity platform of 1981, does the term socialism appear.

One of the aims of the opposition is to hold the upcoming parliamentary elections on the basis of a free play of political forces and the drawing up of a new Polish constitution in which the leading role of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] would not be enshrined. In parliament, opposition deputies are to force through the expansion of trade union and political pluralism, including the unrestricted creation and activity of political parties.

In the platform, among other things, is set down the endeavor for cutting military service and for the broader implementation of alternative military service. Further, the opposition wants to "un-ideologize" schools, to remove atheistic and even defense training from them, and enable the foundation of church and other nonstate schools. Opposition leaders want to achieve the eradication of the decisive influence of the PZPR in cadre policy.

In the sphere of the economy, the aim of Solidarity is the creation of an economy whose basis will be the market and independent enterprises operating under market conditions. At the same time, it proposes a change in property relations which would mean, among other things, that even state property would be to a considerable extent handed over, sold, or leased out to private individuals, towns, villages, enterprises, etc., for example, in the form of companies with cooperative or private capital participation.

In the election platform of the so-called Solidarity citizens' committee is also emphasized the need for deep structural changes in the Polish economy, the preferential development of agriculture and the food industry, housing construction, the protection of the environment, and other things. The platform is defined as an open document which will be improved and supplemented.

'Doubts' About New Self-Management Viewed

AU2604141489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Apr 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Importance of Expedient Self-Management"]

[Excerpts] Not so long ago, contemplation about the benefits of the self-management of enterprises used to be more or less hypothetical. Will it withstand the test, or not? Only practice can answer that. We expect that self-management it will favorably affect the operation of enterprises and improve their performance. This is the main purpose and objective of developing self-management. Does the first experience of it in operation confirm that intention?

Experience shows that people feel affinity for the concept of self-management, and that already the elections of directors or councils of work collectives have clearly stimulated life in enterprises, that people are more interested in what is going on at their places of work. This is a good foundation on which one can build. At the same time, however, one cannot ignore the fact that not everywhere in practical life are the working people

receiving a satisfactory answer to the question of what has actually changed in their place with the introduction of self-management, where the concrete contribution is, a contribution that can be seen in the prosperity of the enterprise. Impatience is sometimes transformed into doubts about whether the decision to introduce the principles of self-management was a good thing since no concrete results can be seen.

In the few months since the first elections and the beginning of the work of the councils one can hardly expect revolutionary changes in the life of enterprises, but, at the same time, one should not nonchalantly dismiss some facts that indicate that by following the wrong course of action the danger of formalism really could arise in implementing the principles of self-management, or, even worse, one could slide into that bitter experience we had in applying these principles at the end of the 1960's. Where is the danger? The elections themselves have elicited much criticism. The election mechanism, especially in larger enterprises, is cumbersome, time-consuming and expensive. Elections that go over several rounds or even are repeated, tire the working people, and sometimes even democratism itself and expediency get lost in such complexities. Although the principle of elections has proven itself, there is no doubt that the mechanism of them will have to be carefully reconsidered. [passage omitted]

Some of the results of the past elections are a ticklish problem, too. The purpose is to have only the best people in the councils and in directors' posts, those who enjoy the people's trust. An incompetent director or council member discredits the principle of self-management, and places it in doubt. However, the fact is that in some cases candidates who saw the situation of the enterprises realistically, who defended national interests, and did not cajole voters with promises that could not be kept failed in the elections. This was not a mass phenomenon; nevertheless, such cases should be seriously considered. It is possible to win elections with nice promises, but you cannot successfully run an enterprise on promises, and if a career-obsessed or smooth-talking person gets into a position of responsibility, this cannot fail to show up in the economic results. [passage omitted]

The often lengthy span of time that elapses between the elections and the beginning of the actual work of the self-management bodies constitutes a great danger to the authority of those bodies. In only a few places did the self-management bodies begin practical work immediately. Again the argument crops up that the Law on State Enterprises was adopted too soon, that the existing economic mechanism does not allow use to be made of all the powers given to the self-management bodies. Moreover, what can they discuss when they do not know what the normative rules or the taxes will be like, or what will be recognized as a development program and what is a program to be phased out, or when other important elements of the new mechanism, are not yet known.

It is true that the powers of enterprise and self-management bodies are limited at present, and it is true that many fundamental questions connected with the transition to the new mechanism have not yet been fully resolved. However, waiting with arms folded means risking that people will lose interest in self-management, and that self-management—as far as they are concerned—will become a useless component in the organization of the enterprise. And it will be very difficult to win their trust back later. [passage omitted]

Need To Reformulate Legal System Assessed

AU2604150889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Apr 89 p 2

["val"-signed report: "About the Activity of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public"]

[Excerpt] Prague (our correspondent)—As we have already reported, the second session of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation was held in Prague on Thursday, 20 April. In the course of the session we asked the chairmen of the three committee sections for a short description of their activity and their plans for the future.

Josef Blahos, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences' Human Rights Section:

"First of all, it is necessary to address the issue of harmonizing the Czechoslovak legal order with the international legal commitments our state has undertaken. In essence, the concept of a socialist state based on the rule of law means that the socialist state observes its own laws and, at the same time, all international legal commitments which it either recognizes or which are generally binding—the so-called generally binding norms of international law. From this viewpoint there are still many problems caused by the fact that the Constitution, for example, delineates the rights of citizens in a general way while at the same time these rights are very often restricted by lower-level legal norms, various directives, regulations, and so forth. Therefore, from this point of view it is thus necessary to restructure our legal order so that we arrive at a situation in which the law really permits the citizen to do what it does not explicitly forbid.

"It will still take quite a while before we truly succeed in this in all respects, a matter that, of course, does not mean that the achievement of this objective is closely connected with the issue of harmonizing our legal order only with the international legal commitments. We can also arrive at this with the existing concept of the legal order, and of course it will be necessary to eliminate, or very distinctly reformulate, some legal norms which today are at variance with those international legal commitments." [passage omitted]

Unilateral Force Reduction, Transfers Begin

LD2804093189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0823 GMT 28 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The unilateral disarmament initiative announced by the GDR began today with the progressive disbandment of a total of six tank regiments of the National People's Army. The first battle tanks will be removed and conscripted tank troops will be transferred to the reserve. Representatives of the National Defense Ministry in the "Artur Backer" 8th Tank Regiment in Goldberg, Schwerin Aras, said this morning that draftees from other tank troop units in Belitz, Gotha, Sondershausen, Grossenhain, and Stallberg are being discharged. Their service posts will not be filled in the future. At the same time part of the structural combat technology [strukturmaessige Kamptechnik] is being removed for scrapping or for use in the national economy. The disbandment of the six armored units will be completed by October 1989.

At a ceremonial parade in Goldberg Garrison the troops will be thanked for loyally performing their military duty for the reliable protection of socialism and peace.

Further on Reductions

LD2804111389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0932 GMT 28 Apr 89

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—The GDR today started to implement its previously announced unilateral disarmament initiatives. In the agro-industrial town of Goldberg in the Schwerin area, which has 5,000 inhabitants, the first tanks and crews were decommissioned from the National People's Army (NPA) this morning. Eighty-five representatives of the international press were eyewitnesses to the start of the NPA troop and equipment reductions. At the "Artur Becker" 8th tank regiment, which has been stationed here for 25 years, they learned details of the disbandment of six armored regiments and a fighter aircraft squadron by October 1989.

Defense Ministry representatives explained how the unilateral disarmament measures announced by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, are being implemented. During a meeting yesterday with Lower Saxony Minister President Ernst Albrecht, Erich Honecker announced that the regular release of conscripts in Goldberg and the other five tank troop units marked the start. The journalists were told that the soldiers would not be replaced.

The locations of the NPA troop units being disbanded were shown on a map: the 1st tank regiment in Berlitz (Potsdam area), the 4th tank regiment in Gotha (Erfurt area), the 8th tank regiment in Goldberg, the 11th tank regiment in Sondershausen (Erfurt area), the 16th tank regiment in Grossenhain (Dresden area), the 23 tank regiment in Stallberg (Neubrandenbrug area), and 7th fighter squadron in Drewitz (Cottbus area). The structural combat equipment will be removed today, it was explained, initially in battalion strength of 31 tanks for scrapping or use in the national economy. The troop units mentioned will be finally disbanded this autumn. In the future, the barracks will serve as the base for those conscripts who, as Erich Honecker also announced yesterday, after a short period of military training will work for 15 months of their actual [as opposed to reserve] military service in key sectors of the national economy.

Honecker Holds Talks With FRG's Albrecht

LD2704144789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1055 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Social Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's State Council, today met Ernst Albrecht, prime minister of Lower Saxony and deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, for talks at the State Council building.

During the meeting, which took place in a businesslike atmosphere, international issues and relations between the GDR and the FRG as well as between the GDR and Lower Saxony were the focus of attention.

Both parties agreed that the most important issue of the moment is, and remains, securing peace, achieving disarmament, and preventing the danger of nuclear war. This is the main task of any responsible policy. Both German states, which make a weighty contribution to achieving the treaty on the removal of medium-range missiles, must do everything to positively influence international developments and to support further disarmament measures. This is mainly true concerning halving the USSR's and the U.S. strategic offensive weapons, a global ban on chemical weapons and drastic offensive weapons, a global ban on chemical weapons, and drastic conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR supports the USSR's unilateral disarmament measures and that the withdrawal of the first units announced by the Soviet Union has already begun.

Erich Honecker said that, as already announced, the GDR National Defense Council has decided to reduce the National People's Army [NPA] by 10,000 men, 600 tanks, and 50 aircraft and lower national defense expenditure by 10 percent unilaterally and independent of negotiations by 1990. To give the NPA an even more pronounced defensive character, among other measures six tank regiments and a squadron of aircraft will be disbanded.

The progressive disbanding of the tank regiments is to begin during the next few days, with the planned release of conscripts from these troop units, and will be completed by October 1989. The fighter squadron will also be disbanded by the end of this year. By this time 50 planes and more than 400 tanks will have already been taken out of service.

The NPA troop units to be disbanded are: Tank Regiment 1 in Berlitz; Tank Regiment 4 in Gotha; Tank Regiment 8 in Goldberg; Tank Regiment 11 in Sondershausen; Tank Regiment 16 in Grossenhain; Tank Regiment 23 in Stallberg; and Fighter Squadron 7 in Drewitz. Erich Honecker said that as a further measure and expression of goodwill, we have taken the decision to employ 11,500 army members, after a short period of military training, in key sectors of the national economy for the period of 15 months of their active military service.

This step benefits our people and once more underlines our readiness to further reduce military confrontation in the heart of Europe on a mutual basis. It becomes obvious what opportunities would open up for all nations to solve economic and social problems, as well as environmental protection problems, if NATO could also decide to advance the disarmament process through its own specific contributions. We would give representatives of the domestic and foreign media the opportunity to report on our unilateral disarmament measures.

It is necessary in the interest of peace to negotiate swiftly and constructively at the Vienna talks on conventional disarmament and confidence building. It is a matter of reducing assymetries on both sides, and further reducing forces and arms below the upper limits then achieved, in order to create a state of mutual nonattack capability.

The reduction and removal of tactical nuclear weapons, Erich Honecker stressed, is of vital importance to both German states. Talks should be started on this without delay as the [words indistinct] have recently proposed in Berlin. In this context Erich Honecker pointed to the significance of regional solutions such as the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free corridor and zone of trust and security in central Europe. The GDR resolutely opposes all efforts to compensate for medium-range missiles by new, modern weapons in the short-range area. That can only contribute to unleasing a fresh round of arming. Both sides should renounce the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons.

The parties agreed that Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in September 1987 gave fresh impetus to relations between the GDR and the FRG. The statements made in the Joint Communique must be put into action committedly. Already there are significant results on this.

Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR will continue its policy toward the FRG which is directed at securing peace, dialogue, and businesslike cooperation. Mutual respect for sovereignty, for territorial integrity and noninterference, as well as respect for mutual interests are important prerequisites for a constructive atmosphere in their mutual relationship. Efforts to interfere in the GDR's internal affairs can only damage relations.

Both parties discussed the state of relations between the GDR and Lower Saxony. They agreed that there is substantial progress in the political, economic, scientific and technical areas, which should be further extended. Environmental protection should also be included in this. Erich Honecker stressed that there can be more progress between the GDR and Lower Saxony if the issue of the Elbe border is settled successfully by mutual agreement, corresponding to the de jure and de facto situation and practice since 1945. That will create the prerequisites to solve a series of other problems.

Prime Minister Ernst Albrecht explained his standpoint on the issue raised. There was agreement to make further efforts to come closer to a conjoint settlement of the question of the Elbe border.

Erich Honecker pointed out that the abolition of the Salzgitter "Registry" would considerably improve the climate between the two German states. Questions concerning the further development of relations between the GDR and Lower Saxony were also dealt with.

Taking part in the talk were: Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the State Council; State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, chief of the Chancery of the chairman of the State Council; Guenter Rettner, director of the International Politics and Economics Department of the SED Central Committee; Karl Seidel, director of the West Germany Department in the Foreign Affairs Ministry; Heinrich Juergens, Lower Saxony minister for federal and European affairs; Werner Remmers, Lower Saxony minister for the environment; Josef Meyer, head of the Lower Saxony State Chancery; Fritz Brickwedde, spokesman of the Lower Saxony State Government; and Dr Franz Bertele, head of the FRG Permanent Mission.

Honecker Hosts Lunch

LD2704145589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1330 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's State Council, today held a lunch in honor of Dr Ernst Albrecht, prime minister of Lower Saxony and Christian Democratic Union deputy chairman in Berlin.

Taking part in the meal were SED Central Committee Politburo members Joachim Herrman, Werner Jarowinski, Egon Krenz, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski and Guenter Mittag; state secretaries Frank-Joachim Herrmann and Dr Alexander Schalck-Golodowski; the director of the SED Central Committee's International Politics and Economics Department, Guenter Rettner; Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Kurt Nier; as well as other persons. Among the guests was the head of the FRG's Permanent Mission, Dr Franz Bertele.

Talks Termed 'Constructive'

LD2704193389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1441 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—His talks with General Secretary Erich Honecker were very intensive and constructive, stated Lower Saxony's Premier Ernst Albrecht on Thursday [27 April] at an international news conference in Berlin. It was the second time that he personally had the opportunity to speak with Erich Honecker on joint problems. It is no secret that there are considerable differences between the two countries on social questions and the concept of the state and its tasks and organization. But they jointly established that there are very many joint interests and problems which, in spite of these differences, must be solved. They also established that it is both in the interests of the people as well as in the interest of the preservation of peace in Europe that the two German states expand their cooperation.

We noted the joint desire to advance in all areas, whether it is protecting the environment or the economy, cultural relations, or above all the possibilities for the people to move about and meet each other, Ernst Albrecht said. One result of the talk was fundamental agreement that the GDR and Lower Saxony intend to solve together environmental problems which extend across borders. Harmful substances in the air do not stop at state borders, harmful substances in the Elbe do not stop at state borders but are transported eventually to the North Sea. We intend to make a great effort to save the North Sea. We came to the understanding that we will define jointly and also finance jointly important projects serving cross-border environmental protection. Second, we agreed in principle to set up a new border crossing near Bad Harzbur.

Economic relations between Lower Saxony and the GDR have, in the view of the partners in the talks, developed particularly well in the last few years. It was decided to stage a German-German economics day at the next Hannover Fair. Relations between scientists and cultural relations have also intensified constantly. Both governments are concerned about making this positive development a possibility in the future as well.

Problems that have not been settled to date were also discussed, said the prime minister. There is a difference of opinion on the course of the Elbe border between Schnakenburg and Lauenburg. Honecker stressed the GDR's view that the border should run in the middle of the river. He affirmed his view that one could not establish this border constitutively, but that one could only accept it and respect it. But we want to try to make advances in the settlement of all questions important to the people, despite these differing legal positions concerning the course of the Elbe.

More careful talks would be required, but he at least had the impression that a certain amount of progress has been achieved here as well.

All in all I would like to thank the general secretary and the members of the Politburo and the government for this constructive negotiation. I think that that is a good beginning for further developing our relations. As we are neighbors, we desire to live as neighbors should live, mindful of the difficulties which still lie on this path. But in any case we have clearly advanced a step today.

Ernst Albrecht then answered questions saying that the visit showed that one could achieve progress, and what is more, substantial progress without conceding fundamental positions. On questions of security and disarmament they were able to establish that there are now fortunately few differences of opinion in the fundamental objectives. It is true that the FRG does not share the views of the GDR with regard to a divergence of the military blocs or with regard to the creation of nuclear and chemical weapons free zones, but they are in complete agreement in the desire to see strategic nuclear weapons of the great powers reduced by 50 percent. He continued, saying that we completely agree that we want to have, if possible, a ban on chemical weapons in the world, but in any case such a ban between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

We agree on wanting to reduce conventional weapons with short-range missile levels to such a balance that in the final result neither one side nor the other is left with an offensive capability. There must be talks and discussions on what that balance is and how one preserves it and achieves it at a lower level. He valued the fact that a decisionmaking process is taking place within NATO and that NATO as a whole is putting forward disarmament proposals, that is, itself taking initiatives.

Premier Albrecht told the journalists of the announcement by Erich Honecker that the GDR is not only reducing the required strength of the People's Army by 10,000 men, but will also introduce a new regulation to the effect that a further 11,500 conscripts will, after 3 months of basic military service, serve as soldiers in the economy taking part in production. This regulation is new for him, Ernst Albrecht remarked. "And I see it as a quite remarkable decision which underlines that the GDR is, for its part, also serious concerning that which it has said to us, namely that it is ready to contribute on the path toward disarmament."

In response to further questions the prime minister said that he suggested the incorporation of Hannover in local border traffic. Erich Honecker agreed to look at this proposal. There is no change with regard to the differing views on the so-called Salzgitter Registration Office, Ernst Albrecht remarked. But he did not have the impression that the GDR is making a connection between this and other questions. Albrecht was more precise about his proposal for a joint environmental fund, saying that this should be financed on an equal basis by both sides. He added that his federal state already uses at present technology from the GDR in this area, for example through the application of enzymatic sludge treatment at sewage works. When questioned, Franz Bertele, head of the FRG permanent mission, said that according to the GDR, the extent of travel between the GDR and the FRG increased in the first 3 months of this year when compared with the same period last year by 20 to 25 percent.

His discussion with Erich Honecker was "an extremely pleasant, constructive, very earnest talk," the prime minister said in summation. He is convinced that all efforts to intensify relations between both German states are in the interests of the people in these states and in the interests of peace.

SED/SPD Security Issues Group Continues Talks

LD2704153989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1247 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The Joint Working Group of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] Bundestag Group on issues of security policy has today continued its work in Bonn with its ninth meeting. The round of discussion served the further discussion of issues of nonattack capability and adequate defense.

The further development of European security was discussed, taking into account the Vienna talks which have started in the meantime on conventional forces and confidence-building measures. The working group expressed the hope that the talks will progress swiftly and constructively. It will also concentrate on working out its own proposals which will promote this progress.

The start of negotiations soon on the inclusion of nuclear weapons with a range of under 500 km is seen as particularly necessary. The reduction and step by step removal of these weapons is an integral condition for stable security in Europe. The Warsaw Pact's readiness for negotiations on this area should be answered constructively by NATO.

The working group sees the main issues for making the world and Europe safer in halving strategic nuclear weapons belonging to the United States and the USSR, ending nuclear weapons testing, as well as banning chemical weapons globally. The joint working group stated that their proposals for the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free corridor, as well as for a zone of trust and security in central Europe, are very topical.

The working group welcomed the unilateral disarmament steps by the USSR, the GDR and other Warsaw Pact states, fulfillment of which will begin in the next few weeks and which are to be concluded by the end of 1990. They will represent a significant step toward reducing military confrontation and distrust. The working group agreed to continue its work in Berlin on 14 June 1989.

Taking part in the meeting from the SED side were: Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Professor Joachim Boehm, deputy director of a department of the Central Committee; Prof Manfred Mueller, head of the Questions of Basic Principle Department at the Potsdam-Babelsberg Institute for International Relations; Dr Guenther Hillmann, head of department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; Karl-Heinz Wagner, employee of the SED Central Committee.

From the SPD side: Egon Bahr, chairman of the Bundestag subcommittee for disarmament and arms control and member of the SPD Presidium; Dr Andreas von Buelow, member of the Defense Committee and member of the Security Policy Commission of the SPD Party Executive; Karsten D. Voigt, chairman of the chemical weapons working group and head of the SPD Bundestag group on the Foreign Affairs Committee as well as member of the SPD party executive; Dr Hermann Scheer, head of the SDP Bundestag group on the subcommittee for disarmament and arms control and member of the SPD party council; Erwin Horn, head of the SPD Bundestag group on the Defense Committee; as well as Dr Uwe Stehr and Wolfgang Wiemer, employees of the SPD Bundestag group.

Television Broadcasts 26 Apr Dubcek Interview
LD2704162289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2030 GMT 26 Apr 89

[Interview with Alexander Dubcek, former general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, on the "Face to Face" program by editor Lajos Chrudinak; Dubcek speaks in Slovak, fading into superimposed Hungarian translation; date, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Chrudinak] Tonight we will continue those exciting conversations that we began on "Panorama" [broadcast on 17 April] and which created enormous interest throughout the world. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, the Dubcek interview has led to a reaction—one entirely at variance with international opinion—by a portion of the press in Prague and Bratislava. An unjustified press campaign and a war of irritable statements was begun against "Panorama." Letters by readers that were described as being spontaneous accused Hungarian television of interfering in the CSSR's internal affairs. What is more, some Slovak letter writers accused us of breaking international laws and trying to revive nationalism.

However, the alleged letter writers do not deny the concrete facts and data that Dubcek's confessions and memories include, for facts are facts. Instead, they have unleashed an avalanche of adjectives just because Alexander Dubcek, witness, principal actor, and one of the victims of the Prague Spring of 1968 and of the military intervention, has appeared on Hungarian television, just because this retired politician was able to simply open his mouth.

The Helsinki Final Act and the most recent document in Vienna—which Prague also signed—expressly support free speech and a free press. Therefore, it is not "Panorama" which is breaking international agreements but rather those who monopolize wisdom and the expression of opinions, those who consider this their exclusive privilege. In the past 6 months "Panorama" has asked to interview several leading Czechoslovak politicians, but to this day our requests have been refused. They were unwilling to receive our crews. We have not yet been told why this is the case.

We are stil ready for the fullest possible cooperation. We did not want to interfere with the internal affairs of our neighbor, nor do we want to do this in the future, either. However, our Czechoslovak friends must understand that in Hungary a different type of information policy is beginning to prevail. We consider it an achievement: Instead of the autocratic, command, and bureaucratic press management, we today are already able to take advantage of the opportunities offered by glasnost, freedom of the press, and democracy—naturally with political and professional responsibility. [passage omitted]

[Dubcek] I believed that socialism had to be reformed and acquire new contents and a new form. It had to become more attractive than ever before because otherwise socialism has no perspective.

[Chrudinak] It is said that you arrived at this conclusion in the Novotny era, when as a Slovak patriot you fought Czech domination.

[Dubcek] I became a man when I finished at the Moscow party college, when I returned home in 1959 and worked again as a leading county party secretary in Bratislava. In 1960 I was already secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] in Prague. I belonged to industry, for I was a mechanic by profession. I took part in directing the engineering industry and the chemical and building industries. After finishing up at the political high school and after Khrushchev had come to power, events naturally had an effect on me. Certain things which I experienced as a district party secretary were hard to take.

Of course, when I was a district party secretary I did not know all about Slansky and about the trials that were held in our country. When I worked as a district party secretary in 1949 and 1950, during the time of the first arrests, naturally as a young Communist, as an enthusiastic follower of socialism, I was unable to understand what was happening. How was it possible that after so many years it come to light that certain Communists were the enemies of the people? Such traitors were also unmasked in the Hungarian communist party and in the other communist parties as well. The propaganda worked in a way that alleged: The hand of imperialism has deeply penetrated the communist movement. This is a great tragedy. It is difficult to talk about this, but I am certain that already around 1963—because Novotny sent me back to Slovakia, of course—Prague considered me a somewhat difficult man.

I very much liked working with my colleagues. I had very good relations with them, and vice versa. Wherever I worked, I do not know why this was the case, but I earned great respect; people acknowledged me. Perhaps the reason for this is that wherever I worked, whoever I talked to, I never made them feel that I was better than the person who I was talking to or those who turned to me for help.

[Chrudinak] You have never thrown your weight around?

[Dubcek] No, I have never done that.

[Chrudinak] In January 1968 you were elected general secretary of the Central Committee of the entire CPCZ. How did this decision affect you? All of a sudden you attained a very high post, not just in Slovakia but on the frontline of all Czechoslovakia.

[Dubcek] Do you mean 1968?

[Chrudinak] Yes, January 1968.

[Dubcek] Well, you know, that was a very important moment in my life. I felt a very great responsibility.

I got into a sharp confrontation with Novotny at the October 1967 plenum. At that time, the majority of speakers had prepared the customary contributions. At this plenum we were evaluating the party's work. I said to myself: In Slovakia, I have already built a few of the new elements into political life based on the party's leading role. I discovered a lot of new things in the nationality policy, meaning my relationship with the Hungarian and Ukrainian nationalities living in Slovakia. I had observations concerning certain elements of the Slovak question. Naturally I tried to put these into practice in the work of the higher authorities as well. I said: If we criticize the government for not governing, this also means that we are criticizing ourselves; we are criticizing the CPCZ Central Committee. This is because if it is not the government but rather the party apparatus—meaning the Central Committee—that is governing, then self-criticism has to be urgently exercised and this policy has to be changed. Perhaps you can imagine the reaction to this.

There is not enough time here and now to repeat my entire speech verbatim, but given the set speeches that the Central Committee was accustomed to, this had the effect of a bomb exploding. I was of course unable to finish my speech, for Novotny interrupted me and the microphones were switched off. He called his secretary and they made me sit in the front row.

Novotny's chief propagandist, Hendrich, immediately gave a speech that attacked me, saying that I wanted to weaken the party's leading role. Finally, Novotny also spoke; he accused me of nationalism. However, I did not bring up nationality questions; I only spoke about the problems in Slovakia. Well, that was the atmosphere surrounding my election.

I must say that neither then nor in the period since was I ever anti-Soviet; on the contrary, if somebody is brought up from age 4 in the kind of environment I was, if somebody grows up with the friends that I had, well, this leaves an indelible mark on a person for his whole life. This naturally also affected me. I could not be anti-Soviet; I could not be the anti-Soviet politician that they today accuse me of being.

I feel wholeheartedly for the nation. Why? Because I have also experienced the joy created by the completion of a hydraulic power station; I have experienced the happiness of the workers at an auto factory because my father went to work in Frunze at the Gorkiy auto plant. I went to school in that town and I have seen how many things were created and built in that time; and I was also happy about it.

But as I said earlier, I was aware of the poverty, too, the hunger, the collectivization. I saw people dying of hunger; I saw a lot. Therefore, I sympathize with the Soviet people. I could be called a friend of the Soviet people, but if I say pro-Soviet, what I mean is that I am impressed by the work that Khrushchev began. No matter what reproaches are cast his way, I respect him.

Economic reform is a very serious matter. Our Central Committee—and myself included—considered the development of Czechoslovakia and also that of the other socialist countries. The point of the problem was not economic but rather political. In my view, the main problem was that the solution to the problems should have been begun in politics. Politics then opens the way for economic reforms, for the democratization of society, for pluralistic views, for freedom of the press, and so on.

Therefore, for me it was not the economy but rather politics which was of primary importance. Of course, today we already know that the Soviet leadership considered this to be revisionism. In the beginning they did not accuse me and others of revisionism; this was only a recent variation, one established in the seventies. They were watching the right wing, the antisocialist forces. Now I am the right wing and the antisocialist element. Our way of thinking then was that there was an action program and that there were people to the left and to the right of this. This is how things were categorized.

[Chrudinak] So the events led up to Agcsernyo [Cierna nad Tisou]. You sat in a certain railway car face to face with Brezhnev, Podgorniy, and the rest. Was it possible even then to detect that mutual relations had deteriorated irrevocably, or not?

[Dubcek] I think that they were already by then up to no good. It is possible that even then they were contemplating military intervention. When I went to that meeting, I naturally had to think of some sort of solution which would not lead back to Warsaw and which would not strengthen the Warsaw decree.

I could not have done this to this nation even if it cost me my life. I could not have become the grave digger for the new politics. Therefore, I had to explain what the truth was.

I said: We have a new program. This program is supported by the entire party, the whole nation, everyone: Czechs, Slovaks, and the Hungarians and Ukrainians living in our country. This is spontaneous support. Although there were manifestations along the sidelines before, the party now has a level of prestige never before seen in history, and people are joining it by the thousands. We are having to adopt resolutions in order to reduce the rush, so that they will not join the party in such great numbers. The people, the intellectuals—everybody supports the party. The extreme cases—for

example, here or there people oppose the Communist Party, while elsewhere an anti-Soviet article is published in a newspaper—these are peripheral manifestations that will disappear anyway.

The froth will disperse and only the clear water will remain. I said: In politics only the substance must be considered. There is no need for any kind of comparison. There are no internal forces which could overthrow this regime, this policy. They, of course, again listed all the negative phenomena. Well, what can be done?

I said: If somebody is a Marxist, he must understand that other noncommunists—these are a phenomena which do not comply with party politics—also have to exist. This is not accidental; this is normal. They have to exist. If somebody demands that they not exist, then this means that we have to take up the whip. But I do not agree with that.

[Chrudinak] You then proclaimed the principle of glasnost.

[Dubcek] Yes. Not only were there no counterrevolutionary forces within the country, there were also no such forces that could endanger socialism whatsoever. If there were, then we know what it was only too well: the dogmatism of Brezhnev. This is what endangered socialism and weakened the party's stands, the international communist movement, social democracy, and the left-wing socialist parties. And why? To serve a political line which is not in harmony with the interests of democracy, socialism, and the people.

[Chrudinak] After Agcsernyo, you met again in Bratislava on 3 August. The general staff was probably in the midst of work on preparing the aggression so that the troops of the five countries could march in. What memories do you still have of that fine, bright day, of this Bratislava meeting on 3 August?

[Dubcek] We naturally now know that they were making preparations against our cause. We now know this, but we did not know it earlier, although we could have thought of it or reckoned with it. However, at the time neither I nor many others did draw the final conclusion that they would march in. Why? Because at Agcsernyo it was possible to achieve the most important thing, to elaborate a new document. However small a step this was, it was still a positive one. Just how unreliable, suspicious, double dealing, and dishonest they were can be seen from the way that they negotiated with us. At that time we emphasized that in its own genre it was something positive that we were drawing up a new document, and moreover, at a high level. By the way, this stated, very briefly but logically, that I must abide by a document which declares: Every Communist Party must itself resolve the problems of its own country and is responsible to its own people, and that the borders of the socialist states and the Warsaw Treaty's sovereign members are inviolable.

You see, one can sometimes try everything, but in the end it was too little. In the end, it was only after 1969 that the Czechoslovak issue could be (?understood); it was only after 1969 and 1970, for the Bratislava agreement was too little, even if it was something positive.

But what would they have needed? What I have said: They wanted to manipulate me so that I would accept the Gomulka line, so that I would not reform things, so that I would not carry out any kind of renewal, any kind of pluralism, or any kind of glasnost [as heard]; so that I would not abolish press censorship and so that the existing policy of socialism, which was believed to have been proven successful, would continue. They lived under socialism. We were not living under socialism.

You see: That was not enough, either. They progressed step by step toward their objective. In this Republic, in the weeks until 20 August, there was no kind of counterrevolution whatsoever. Please, who would act against Svoboda, the president of the Republic? I do not want to brag, but who would have taken steps against me, against Cernik, or against the leader of the Prague uprising, Smrkovsky, or against others? The police here? The Army here? Ours, the Czechoslovak one, or the people's militia, of which I was commander? Who would have overthrown the socialist regime? This is an enormous lie, a stand that is entirely unacceptable today. And even today, 20 years after the event, it is this which keeps being repeated; it is this which is being taught in the schools. It is this which is being taught about me. And my little grandchild cries that he will not learn this because, he says, my grandad is a good man.

[Chrudinak] You faced a terrible dilemma, but I believe....

[Dubcek, interrupting] Look, I said to myself: What will you do? You will not do it. It is necessary; let history pass judgment. It also a similar case: They write about me, saying that after I had received the news from the minister of defense that the armies of the Warsaw Treaty member states had marched in, I should have agreed to our not allowing them into the country, to our fighting on the borders. I did the opposite; I called up Cernik and Svoboda. Cernik also called up Svoboda, saying that no mistake should be made. Our side should not fire one shot. Let them march in, let them just march into the country; you must not harm anyone and you should not offer resistance, he said.

Now, too, I believe: The allegations are not true that I behaved in a cowardly manner like Benes, who resigned after the Allies had refused help, and that this meant the end of the Republic, for that is stupidity. I also have that much expertise in strategy. I also knew that it was the politicians who had given the order to march in, but who carries this out? The soldiers. When the soldiers were given this order, what did they think of from the outset? I had to guess this, weigh this, and I had to reckon with their expecting resistance. I as a politician, one who had

the possibility of deciding or at least if not deciding when to exercise the decisive influence in such an important situation, decided that if I had guessed what they wanted, then we must not do anything that they might expect.

That is why I said no, and to this very day I believe that I was right. Even now, historians write that perhaps they would have become afraid, that they would have not have marched in, and that they would not have caused a national tragedy so that an international scandal would not arise out of this. However, they would have caused one; I know this.

[Chrudinak] Where were the talks held? In the Kremlin?

[Dubcek] Yes. I was summoned to the Kremlin; that is where the talks began. Working groups were formed, and work began on the documents.

[Chrudinak] President Ludvik Svoboda remained in Prague; he was kept in Prague. How, in the end, did he end up at the negotiating table in Moscow?

[Dubcek] You are mentioning the president of the Republic? Well, look: To touch the president of the Republic, particularly a person like Svoboda, would have been to go beyond all limits. This is one part of the answer. The other thing is, and this is most important thing, I think they needed the president in this respect so that they could present their demand to him for the creation of a revolutionary government. This revolutionary government could then in turn recognize the revolutionary tribunal which then would have been able to make short shift of our fate, the persons to be arrested, and those who are antisocialist and anti-Soviet. This is why they left the president there. I think they held him in too low esteem. Just like they underestimated me, they also underestimated Cernik, Smrkovsky, the Presidium, and the Central Committee. Just like they underestimated our entire Communist Party, they also underestimated the Czechs, the Slovaks, and the Magyars and Ukrainians living in Czechoslovakia.

They simply underestimated everything and everyone. Being aware of their own size and strength, they thought that that everyone else should kneel before them. I believe that they had one picture of Svoboda, the image of a valiant soldier. They were only familiar with his relationships with the Soviet Army, his personal relations with Grechkov as well as his other personal relationships with many other military leaders which came about when the Czechoslovak Army was formed. However, they were not acquainted with him as a person.

I, however, also knew him as a private person. For a good number of years, he was president of the Republic; he did not leave the post to me or anyone else. For this reason, some people have criticized him a great deal; but not me. In my view, what is decisive is what he did; that is, he did not accept the revolutionary government. Therefore, the revolutionary tribunal could not be created; in the final analysis, the plan he submitted in Moscow proved correct. He said: I insist that every interned person be returned to Czechoslovakia, and only after this will I fly to Moscow for the negotiations. I also insisted that the others take part in the talks as well. Yes, that is what I had said.

So, there could be no talk of a revolutionary government or tribunal, and we could still come back from Moscow.

[Chrudinak] Is it true that Svoboda threatened to commit suicide in front of the Soviet ambassador?

[Dubcek] Look, that is already known. It did happen that way, by and large, and it took place when Chervonenko, the ambassador, visited him, as head of state.

[Chrudinak] Chervonenko?

[Dubcek] Yes, Chervonenko. Then Svoboda expressed his disagreement with the fact that we were not returning to Prague by asking: What do you expect me to do? Perhaps I should shoot myself in the head. Then he demanded that everyone should return in the same capacity. So, that was the decisive step. It was only after this step that it was possible for the so-called Moscow talks to begin.

Of course, I do not know how events would have turned out if, prior to Svoboda's stand, the Central Committee's standpoint had not come about, which it announced to the entire world and to international forums—that it [the invasion] was unlawful, that no one had called them in, that it was a crime, that it was contrary to international law, and that it was contrary to the treaties. So, following this document, he, as head of state, took a stand in favor of it.

We were debating whether or not we should sign it. I have said, have I not, that I do not believe in log books. In spite of this, I could not commit the historical mistake of not signing it, because it was the final historical moment when... [pauses] Let us suppose I had refused to do this, that I did not sign it. In that case, from a historical perspective it could be said that if I had signed it, then perhaps the situation would have developed differently. Do you undersand? I had to exhaust all possibilities to the finish. When I signed it, this meant that it also contained the final chance for us to save what was salvageable. That is why I decided to sign it. However, properly speaking, the end of the story is that many things happened in the meantime.

In the period when I did not want to sign it, I had to take a measure, even in opposition to our party's Presidium, which would exclude me from being among the signatories, and in the eyes of the Soviet side. Therefore, they convened the Soviet plenum, the Soviet party presidium. They sat on one side and we sat on the other. Cameras,

journalists—everything was there. And what is customary at such times? At such times it is only necessary to pick up the pen and sign. At that point I stood up and said: Not this, not this Moscow protocol. You know very well that prior to the talks, we also drew up a document. Therefore, allow it, or at least the step-by-step process through which we reached this protocol, to be visible. The document that was prepared at home and which we ourselves brought along should be incorporated in this protocol which is to be signed.

Brezhnev stood up and said: I warn you not to do this, and I warn you and warn you, he said while standing. I, in the meantime, sat down. Then they swiftly chased away the reporters and television people. Brezhnev and the entire Soviet Presidium then marched out, and there was no signing. That was it.

So, this happened when I insisted on my plan to return home not as first secretary. Then one, then another, and then a third person—I am thinking of my friends such as Smrkovskiy, Spacek, who were friends of mine and remain so, or Cernik, the premier, and many others, or Simon, the leading secretary of Prague—they all said I should not be overly hasty. There were, after all, issues in the documents that were acceptable to us, and so forth. Imagine: At this point I dissolved an official session. I can establish: I was not wrong. I nevertheless had to take this historical step, to provide the final possibility so that later it would not be possible to accuse me of letting an opportunity which might have saved something slip by. [Word indinstinct] together with the others. The training is such: If the Presidium says you should not do it, then it cannot be otherwise. One feels the responsibility. Therefore, I signed it along with the others.

My responsibility was greater than that of Kriegel, who did not sign it. I do not want to judge his actions, for that is a matter of conscience. I cannot conceive of another way out, and at that time neither I nor the others could think of anything different—neither Smrkovsky nor anone else. Well, the protocol did not contain the four points of capitulation; to the contrary, it contained things that signaled a certain positive way out of this difficult situation. I had to decide in favor of what was more acceptable to the party and to the nation. In the second phase, after speaking with the members of the Presidium, I could not insist on not signing it. I wondered: What would happen if I was wrong? What would happen if, after all, this was the way out?

[Chrudinak] You were then quickly removed from your post and sent to Ankara as ambassador to Turkey. How did this process of erosion take place?

[Dubcek] Look, I mentioned earlier: When they marched in, I asked the Presidium whether it would help if someone else were to hold talks in Moscow, for one rightly supposes that they are not willing to talk with me if I am arrested. Is that not the case? However, it is possible, I thought, that they would be willing to talk to someone else. The Presidium did not accept this solution.

Now, how did it happen that I left that post? I could hardly expect that I, as first secretary, would be requested to visit [Moscow] by the Soviet Union, the Soviet leadership, or in practice, by the five countries that marched in, or, let us say, by Gomulka, or by another, third leader. So, an absolute blockade developed against me; that is how I saw things. We accepted the November resolution, but for us to be able to realize it, a favorable, appropriate international atmosphere was needed on part of the Hungarians, the Poles, the Soviet Union, and on the part of Ulbricht—therefore, on part of all fives sides.

However, due to the tragedy that had taken place, they obviously did not want to be in contact with me. I told Svoboda this; he racked his brains. I am not telling everything that happened, but this does not mean that I am not telling the truth.

[Chrudinak] You have the right to remain silent about things if you think that is right.

[Dubcek] I am saying this so that you do not think that I am recounting everything to the final detail.

Well, Svoboda considered what I had said, and after some thought he also said yes. We met in session several times; I had another proposal, not on Husak but rather to this. They again told me that perhaps I was wrong, that Husak would be most acceptable for the post, and for the Soviets as well. Of course, I now know more than I did then, because, for example, I did not know that Husak and Bilak had met Brezhnev somewhere in the Ukraine.

[Chrudinak] When?

[Dubcek] I know from Bilak's memoirs that it was during the time I was first secretary in Prague, after the invasion. Bilak made this public in his memoirs. That is also why they were angry with me, because he blurted out or disclosed in his memoirs many things that should not have been reported. The tragedy is that they managed to break up the party leadership, and then they worsened the crisis by, in the final analysis, diverging from the Moscow protocol. In 1970, after I left my post—or after 1969—they approved things that we had never accepted. They abolished the action program. They adopted the qualification that the party leadership had been opportunistic and revisionist. They identified with the statements that there had been a counterrevolution and that a civil war would have broken out if the troops had not marched in, and that in this way they had managed to save the homeland, and so forth. This large amount of demagoguery and stupidity, which was said to the face of this cultured and mature nation, was much worse than if a person had spat in our face.

[Chrudinak] However, 20 years have passed, and Soviet perestroyka, glasnost, and all the reforms that are attached to one name, that of Gorbachev, give you full recompense.

[Dubcek] Look, when it is a matter of the action program, of the policy of renewal, of the party's Central Committee, I relate all these things not to myself but rather to the entire collective. Although I was the one who initiated the October 1967 plenum, and I pursued this entire line to the extent that the (?large) team, with the collaboration of scholars, drew up such a significant document, I nevertheless believe that it was a collective work, and that this collective work is so enduring that it is still valid after 20 years.

In our country, they still do not want to print the action program because it supposedly is opportunistic and revisionist. Well, they should hand it over to university students. At present it is slowly becoming possible to study Plekhanov, and who knows what they can study? Why can they not study the action program? They cannot because this program is still termed opportunistic and revisionist, and so is the party leadership of the time: opportunistic and revisionist. In their view, it wanted to drive Czechoslovakia back into capitalism, to tear it away from the Soviet Union. This program is still valid, not because it wanted to tear us away, but rather because it declared the nation's true requirements, because it met with a response among the people, and because the party and the people accepted it. It was accepted by the Czechs, the Slovaks, and the Hungarians and Ukrainians [in the CSSR]. Everyone accepted it so naturally that it was a wonder, and that is why it has not become obsolete to this very day.

GDR Cited on CSSR Criticism of Dubcek Program

LD2704171289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] The GDR press today reviewed at great length the Czechoslovak criticism of Hungarian Television due to the Dubcek interview. The Berlin papers write: The "Panorama" program is intervening in the internal affairs of another socialist country.

By the way, in the past weeks many articles have been published in the GDR which paint a gloomy picture of Hungary—for example concerning the extent to which the standard of living is decreasing, and the threat of unemployment. These articles are worded as if these unfavorable phenomena are the consequences of the current Hungarian reform policy.

Further Cuts in Arms, Military Spending Prepared

LD2704170789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs has indicated that Hungary is preparing to further reduce its armaments and to introduce significant cuts in military spending. In a speech given at an international conference in Geneva, he also said that Hungary wishes to reform its security policy. This means that in foreign policy and military affairs we would place the greatest emphasis on the economic needs of the country and the fact that, for Hungary, joining in the work of integrational organizations is of vital importance.

Further on Kovacs Remarks

LD2704182489 Budapest MTI in English 1648 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Geneva, April 27 (MTI)—Laszlo Kovacs, deputy minister of foreign affairs held a lecture today in Geneva on Hungary's foreign and security policy, as part of the international conference series held by the Institute of International Studies and the East-West Security Research Institute.

He stated that in the current favourable international situation, the security and stability of Hungary is endangered not by a possible bloc conflict but by the challenges arising from global social-economic, technological, and ecological competition.

Foreign financial and technical-scientific sources which include the development of the cooperation with the developed industrial countries and integration organizations are indispensable for the implementation of the reforms.

Mr Kovacs pointed out that the reform in national security policy will take into account the nation's genuine requirement of security and its present economic situation. We are to formulate a defence oriented military structure that would significantly reduce military expenditure, the deputy minister of foreign affairs said.

Janos Peter Invites Romania's Manescu for Visit

AU2504170589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Apr 89 p 2

[Interview with former Hungarian Foreign Minister Janos Peter by Peter Vajda: "I Have Invited Corneliu Manescu to Hungary for Medical Treatment"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] During Corneliu Manescu's tour as Romanian ambassador in Budapest, few people knew him better than Janos Peter, who was deputy foreign minister and later foreign minister.

[Peter] Shortly after his arrival, the new Romanian ambassador paid me a visit. We reviewed a series of issues with Corneliu Manescu, including the issue of the Hungarian national minority living in Romania, an issue that he himself had brought up. He said that there were issues that could occasionally disturb our cooperation. As for the national minorities issue, he had a very correct and honest position and, as for the essence of this problem, he stressed that the Hungarian minority in

Romania should play a bridging role between our two countries. At the time, the official Romanian policy was also quite different from the current policy, and his openness and constructive intentions made a good impression on me. [passage omitted]

At the time when both of us were foreign ministers, we participated in several rounds of talks. I remember an international meeting where he was surprisingly meticulous in connection with the formulation of a joint document. I asked him why he was raising difficulties now, given his usual flexibility. He replied that he had to coordinate not only every word but almost every syllable with Bucharest. At the time, Ceausescu was already head of that country.

Corneliu Manescu, who became Romanian foreign minister under Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, did not enjoy the confidence of the new party leader who followed his activity with increased criticism. On one occasion, during a Romanian delegation's visit to Africa, Nicolae Ceausescu was accompanied by his wife Elena Ceausescu. Also among the delegation was Manescu's charming, pretty, and civilized wife. The African hosts paid special attention to Manescu's wife, and this, of course, did not escape the Ceausescus' attention. [passage omitted]

[Vajda] How did you receive the news that Manescu was among the six former Romanian leaders who had signed the protest against the oppressive policy of the Ceausescu regime?

[Peter] I understood that this reflected the political trends in Romania and an elementary desire for democratization. At the same time, this was a courageous decision, one based on patriotic and democratic convictions and on moral and political motives, the decision of a man who had long ago gradually turned against everything that Ceausescu represented. This was a logical development because Manescu always represented his country honestly, with conviction, and in a European way. I find it outrageous—and I have received absolutely reliable information about this—that Manescu has been placed under house arrest and excluded from the party, and that he is being threatened with deportation. He is also struggling with daily food shortages. They additionally want to put him on trial. This news is particularly alarming, for I know that Corneliu Manescu suffers from a serious illness—he has serious vasoconstriction—and as a result of recent tensions he has had a fresh attack of a gastric ulcer. Isolation, even if it means "only" house arrest, may cause his death. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that his life is in danger. Therefore, I have decided to invite my former colleague to visit me in Hungary. At the same time, I will take it upon myself to care for his medical treatment, with the assistance of the relevant Hungarian medical authorities. I have already taken the necessary steps for this. I am convinced that the wonderful Balatonfured spa would help him, and I hope that the Romanian Government, out of humanitarian considerations, will make it possible for him to accept my invitation.

Gyula Horn News Conference on Foreign Affairs

AU2404183789 Budapest MTI in English 1606 GMT 24 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 24/04/1989—The current social and political changes and reform processes in Hungary, and the country's main foreign policy endeavours were addressed by Gyula Horn, state secretary of foreign affairs, at an international news conference held on Monday [24 April] on the occasion of the 35th Congress of the Radical Party in Budapest.

Mr Horn pointed out that a genuine social, political and ideological turn was taking place in the country. Hungary is in the initial stage of asserting pluralism and the majority of society has a vested interest in the fundamental changes. It causes difficulties, however, that the composition of the ruling HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and the members' political views and approach to changes are particularly heterogeneous, and that there is a certain deal of ideological confusion within the party. We have to reassess our achievements and examine in which fields we had committed grave errors in the past, Mr Horn emphasized. He added that the various independent political organizations offered society worthwhile ideas and gave a major impetus to the process of renewal as a whole.

In a period of the evolutionary processes of sweeping political changes, threats of violence or dictatorship attack reform. Mr Horn stated that any endeavour to thwart reform is counter-revolutionary. The process of democratization and renewal taking place in Hungary is not aimed against any one country or any people, Mr Horn emphasized. He added that the process had not violated any bilateral or multilateral international agreement.

Our national and international endeavours start out from the exact realities and requirements of the civilized world. We are open to the new international initiatives for the considerable reduction of conventional weapons, for the updating of the relationship between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the establishing of new economic security, and new handling of local hotbeds of tension. The age of declaring monolithic unity within the alliance system is over. Today national characteristics are decisive and the individual prosperity of member states serves the common interest. Addressing Hungarian-Romanian relations, Mr Horn emphasized that the conflict does not arise from differing interests of the two peoples, and pointed out that fundamental political differences cause tension. The Hungarian side takes the view that universal human norms and requirements should be considered in the nationality issue and the enforcement of individual freedoms.

It is our long-term goal that the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO be dissolved simultaneously and if possible this century, Mr Horn said, and added that Hungary would like to become a bloc-free country. According to the Hungarian position, the Warsaw Treaty should not intervene in the internal affairs of member states. Hungary respects the national characteristics of all allied countries and requires the same. It strives for consultations rather than coordination within the Warsaw Treaty. If the alliance system were to bring a decision of great importance, it would be up to the national parliaments to decide. It is highly important for the alliance system not to hinder the sovereign foreign policy steps of member states. The radical reduction of the joint armed forces and the national armies, and their transformation into defensive forces should be put on the agenda, he said.

Mr Horn emphasized that Gorbachev's perestroyka encourages internal transformation in Hungary. The country seeks to revive its relations with Western states that broke ties in the cold war period and requires external support and not aid, to overcome its present crisis.

In reply to questions, the state secretary said that the full withdrawal of Soviet troops depended a great deal on the outcome of the Vienna talks. He expressed the hope that an agreement might be reached in Vienna this year or the first half of 1990.

On the official Czechoslovak reaction to the Hungarian TV interview with Alexander Dubcek. Mr Horn said it would not be desirable if the issue were to adversely affect current good relations.

Government Spokesman Holds News Conference

AU2604114389 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Apr 89 pp 1, 5

[Report by correspondents Peter Forro and Maria Lakatos: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—The Nyirad Mines Will Close To Save Lake Heviz—The Decision on Highway Tolls Revoked—The Imre Nagy Trial Documents To Be Reviewed—The Price Increase Package Postponed Until the Government-National Council of Trade Unions Meeting—News Conference by Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan"; in Budapest on 20 April]

[Excerpts] At its 20 April session, the Council of Ministers heard a report on the effects of the Nyirad bauxite mines on Lake Heviz and decided to immediately proceed with halting production and closing the mines within a maximum of 1 year.

The government adopted a long-term housing management concept and modified the housing subsidies.

The Council of Ministers decided to renew planning and on preparations for the next medium-range plan. The government discussed the budget reform concept and reduced the individual enterprise subsidies for 1989.

The government decided to revoke its earlier decision on introducing a highway toll, a decision that has not yet taken effect. The government intends to create the financial sources for highway construction and road network development by means that are more acceptable to society. The relevant ministers have been instructed to begin the preparatory work.

The government modified the tasks and sphere of authority of the minister of transportation, telecommunications, and construction, the minister of interior, the minister of finance, and of the chairman of the National Planning Office.

The Council of Ministers heard a report on sports associations and the new directive on setting the forint exchange rate.

The government proposed that the National Assembly invalidate Law No 1 of 1953 on preserving Stalin's memory.

Government spokesman Gyorgy Marosan briefed the domestic and international press on the session of the Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

MAGYAR HIRLAP: Is it true that the government will propose invalidating a 1953 law on preserving Stalin's memory? In this connection, will it also discuss the fact that there presently are many laws in force which were created by bodies that have, in the meantime, ceased to exist, such as the Information Office? Is the review of such laws and regulations the start of a process?

[Marosan] Your information is correct, but I cannot give you any information on final results, for the Council of Ministers has not yet discussed this issue. I do not think that this process has just begun because—although we are only at the beginning—several such measures have already been taken, and obviously, this should continue. [passage omitted]

KEPES 7: When will the extraordinary government-trade union meeting take place? What is your opinion about the fact that the National Council of Trade Unions wants to negotiate only with a modified government?

[Marosan] The government proposed 12 May for this meeting. With this, the government intends to indicate to the trade unions that the negotiations should begin relatively quickly. The government does not demand the right to determine the composition of the other side's negotiating delegation, so therefore I do not think it is justified for the other side to demand this. [passage omitted]

MTI: Is it true that, after Imre Pozsgay, Premier Milos Nemeth is now also preparing for a visit to Warsaw? If this is true, what can we expect from this visit?

[Marosan] That information is correct. Miklos Nemeth will pay a 1-day working visit to Warsaw on 15 May, at the invitation of Polish Premier Rakowski. I think that the two premiers have to face a lot of identical problems. Obviously, they are also seeking similar solutions, and it is worth their learning from each from others' activity. [passage omitted]

Television news: In recent weeks, the government has made a series of decisions which it has had to modify. The earlier 5-year plan has not been realistic for quite a while, and the development program announced last year is not working either. After all, on the basis of what program is the government operating today? Does it have a genuine and living program, or will such a program emerge after the elections?

[Marosan] I think that the government is still advancing along the program we call the development program. It has been repeatedly said—the premier has also mentioned this, and I, too, have repeatedly said in my news conferences—that our conditions and situation have changed considerably since then. Therefore, the government is preparing a new government program and a new economic and social strategy to be submitted to parliament in the coming months.

MSZMP 'Expert' Discusses Alternative Groups

AU2704122589 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 16, 21 Apr p 21

[Interview with MSZMP "expert" Istvan Gyorgy by Jozsef J. Horvath: "Ready for Cooperation—National Roundtable—Ideological Differences"; date, place not given]

[Text] There has lately been a proliferation of a great variety of organizations. In the past, we labeled them antiregime organizations, groups of people who think differently, opposition groups, and alternative organizations. Nowadays, however, we also regard them as possible coalition partners. What is the attitude of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] toward these organizations, and to what extent does the MSZMP intend to cooperate with them? We spoke with Istvan Gyorgy about these issues, among other things.

[Gyorgy] These were not MSZMP labels. It is now impossible to trace the origin of these labels, nor is it essential. However, it is a fact that these changes in terminology also reflect the gradual change in the MSZMP's stand toward these organizations. Besides, just like any artificial label, these are also incorrect and express neither the essence nor the political affiliation of the existing or emerging organizations. It is possible that many of these organizations will continue to consider themselves opposition organizations even after the introduction of a multiparty system, simply because they have deliberately accepted this role. There will also be organizations that wish to participate in exercising power, for example as coalition partners. Not every one of these organizations accepts the label alternative because this would diminish the independent nature of their political image. I think the correct thing is simply to call them social and political organizations, responsible political factors that, in one way or another, are seeking ways to ensure the development of Hungarian society.

A Wide Range

[Horvath] Open exchanges of views and bilateral negotiations between the MSZMP and the alternative organizations—let us use this term for the time being, a term often used in the press—have been held with increasing frequency lately. What does the MSZMP want from these organizations? To convince them or to make them see reason? Or to decide on controversial issues by means of a debate?

[Gyorgy] The MSZMP does not want any of these things, nor does it want to convince them to change their positions by negotiating from a position of strength. In recent months, the MSZMP negotiating group held bilateral talks with 12 social and political organizations. The range of negotiating partners was quite broad. Among them, there were venerable organizations like the Patriotic People's Front and the National Council of Trade Unions; organizations that have already declared themselves as parties, organizations that have not yet decided on the form of their future activity, and also organizations that have already publicly and firmly declared that they do not wish to become parties. These were preparatory talks aimed at setting up a political coordinating forum—or a national roundtable if you like—as soon as possible. Who should participate in this forum? What issues should the forum debate? How should decisions emerge and how should these decisions be asserted in the state and government bodies? These were the main questions at these preparatory talks. Besides, a decisive majority of the negotiating partners agreed—with some reservations—on the need to convene such a forum. Therefore, I consider it strange that some of the invited organizations displayed a lack of interest in the multilateral exchange of views held on 8 April.

[Horvath] All these things seem to confirm the MSZMP's readiness for dialogue. But could a genuine dialogue develop between the MSZMP and the alternative organizations? There are great ideological differences between many of these organizations, and the methods of searching for a way out are often quite contradictory.

Acceptable Norm

[Gyorgy] If we take the original dictionary meaning of the word—a dialogue between two opposing sides—then my answer would be negative. The MSZMP will not

accept a solution in which the MSZMP is on one side and the representatives of an opposition bloc are on the other. Some organizations would not agree with this because it would not reflect the real conditions in society. Such an interpretation of a dialogue suggests the existence of an "MSZMP versus society" position. It is not true that the representatives of power are sitting on one side, while society or the country's public opinion is sitting on the other. In this respect, we do not want a dialogue but rather a multilateral exchange of views in which every organization can express and maintain its own views. According to the general interpretation of the word also used in the political language, we of course are ready to conduct a dialogue with anyone at such a national roundtable, and we even regard this as desirable, for despite the ideological and political differences, this could prepare the bases for a general consensus.

[Horvath] Does this desired consensus include the possibility of dividing up power?

[Gyorgy] As to with whom should we share power, to what extent, and whether we should share power at all, all these things will be determined by free and democratic elections. At the moment, it is still not clear what organizations wish to share power. None of them considers itself to be able to participate in the government. I stress that this is according to the current situation, and this does not exclude the possibility that in the future these organizations will cooperate with us or with others as coalition partners. They need time for this, they have to work out their own platforms, and they have to find those connecting points with which they can work out the minimal joint program needed for cooperation. Of course, there are also organizations with which some sort of dialogue is possible but lasting cooperation is out of question due to too-large ideological differences. The sole condition for their operation is that they should act according to the principles of the Constitution.

[Horvath] Many alternative organizations regard as unacceptable one element in the MSZMP's concept of a constitution according to which "acceptance of the socialist way of social development" is one of the conditions for the functioning of various parties.

[Gyorgy] Each party wants to attain power, and then once it has this power, it wants to keep it. Therefore, it supports the social order that fits with its ideology and concepts. As a political party, the MSZMP is also struggling for this with all political means. For us, the acceptance of the aforementioned principle is a condition for cooperation with other organizations, and not a condition for their existence. Besides, the MSZMP does not want the constitution to provide the definition of socialism, but rather to stipulate principles that the party finds attractive from its own basic ideological positions, principles like the sovereignty of the people, self-management, democracy, a mixed-market economy by maintaining the decisive role of public property, the reduction of inequalities in opportunity, and solidarity. All these principles can be included in the constitution without even uttering the word socialism. We are talking here about the creation of a type of democratic socialism that accepts pluralism, a multiparty system, and a market economy, and not about the codification of a pattern of socialism that we have believed to be correct for 40 years but which we have never been able to thoroughly implement. We do not expect the opposition parties to fully accept each and every principle that we formulate, but we do expect them to make sure that their programs, attitude, and activity do not clash with these principles. It is the basic requirement of any constitutional state that the constitution stipulate norms acceptable to all—and among the aforementioned principles there is not one which anyone in Hungary today could not accept. There is still a lot of work ahead of us until the final version of the draft constitution is approved and submitted to a vote. Many views already conflict on a variety of issues, such as the question of "when should this be?" Some people are calling for the creation of a new constitution as soon as possible because they think this would avoid the danger of a return to the old ways. In my opinion, the main point is not the timing of the new constitution but rather the fact that it should be a constitution accepted by the people. For example, the debate on the constitution could also be one of the main subjects of the national roundtable. The MSZMP is open on this issue, but it would be preferable to come to some sort of a consensus as soon as possible because the Constitution plays a decisive role in the development of our entire legal system.

[Horvath] Many people consider the next parliamentary elections as some sort of a test of democracy. How can the MSZMP guarantee honest elections?

[Gyorgy] The creation of a good election law and its consistent implementation is the best guarantee for this. We want an election law that is also acceptable by international standards and which enables free elections free of manipulations. An independent court should be able to contest the elections and their results. Besides, the current situation is not a classical election situation. Today we could probably not yet hold elections based solely on competition or on agreements. Society would not accept the latter—and with justification—because people would think that they have again been left out of the decisionmaking process. The MSZMP has nothing to fear from elections based entirely on competition, for it feels it is strong enough to compete. There are different types of difficulties here. In the course of the past decades, society has lost touch with politics, and the fact that the various parties and organizations are only now working out their programs makes it more difficult to choose between them. Public opinion surveys show that a great portion of the population is not familiar with their programs and views. This is a considerable factor of uncertainty, for under such circumstances, forces that do not consider even themselves capable of governing could get close to the government. Of course, there can be various variations of the two election forms.

One can see the signs of a serious crisis in our society today. The joint efforts aimed at finding a way out of the current economic, moral and political crisis could be the basis of cooperation with all the organizations that consider themselves responsible political factors. We have different views on the final goal, but it is in our mutual interest to prevent a return to the old ways and to make sure that the current difficult transition period does not become uncontrollable.

People's Party Publishes Election Appeal

AU2604141889 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 22 Apr 89 p 4

["The Election Appeal of the Hungarian People's Party"]

[Text] 1. As long as there is no valid new law on self-management, no municipal elections should be allowed!
2. The governing political forces should not be able to create new laws by by-passing the political forces in opposition!
3. Every settlement, and therefore every small farming center, partner village, or town district should be able to elect its own self-management!
4. Self-management instead of local councils; a representative body instead of a council body; a mayor instead of a council chairman; a local representative instead of council members.
5. Village mayors should again be elected to head smaller settlements!
6. The local representative is not an executor of the central power but rather possesses power on behalf of his electors.
7. The reform of public administration should separate state management from self-management. One should be able to concentrate only state administrative tasks and not self-management bodies.
8. Mayors and village mayors should be elected directly by the community.
9. There is no need for executive committees in the new self-management. Small bodies of representatives that meet frequently should decide on every public issue!
10. In the election, deputies should be nominated by the citizens and their political organizations, and not by the [Patriotic] People's Front.
11. Taxes should be divided into local and national taxes, but the remaining development resources should not be smaller than hitherto. Self-management bodies should become directly interested in increasing our national income.
12. The disadvantaged and economically backward communities should be able to receive state support from the national centralized taxes.
13. Towns and their surrounding villages should be able to cooperate only voluntarily and on the basis of equal rights because the unnoticed exploitation of villages can no longer continue. The free community associations should be able to manage themselves in all aspects.
14. Administrative courts!
15. Representational counties should replace the often unscrupulously ruling counties, and these representational counties should jointly supervise the government!

Nemeth Receives World Expo Delegation

LD1504014489 Budapest MTI in English 1834 GMT 14 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 14 (MTI)—Friday [14 April], Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met the visiting delegation of the Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), which is surveying the suitability of the sites selected as the venue of the World Expo. The meeting held in a cordial atmosphere, was also attended by Laszlo Somogyi, government commissioner head of the committee in charge of preparing the Vienna-Budapest World Expo.

Joint Soviet Economic Committee Session Noted

LD2604195589 Budapest MTI in English 1403 GMT 26 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 26 (MTI)—The linking of economic and political reform processes and the ideological correlations of the reform movement were discussed at today's session of the Hungarian-Soviet economic committee.

Emil Nyul, head of department at HSWP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Political College reported that it has only been in the past one or two years, that the country's ruling party has became aware that political reforms are inevitable and without them economic endeavours cannot be succesful. In the course of formulating the economic reforms we have come to a stage where the reform of property is necessary for the fundamental changing of the Stalinist model. In addition we have to reduce the structure dominated by state ownership in order to set up a market economy.

A. Ambhartzumov, head of department at the Socialist World System Economic Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, called attention to the fact that inconsistence of reforms implemented, only serves the deepening of world phenomena and extends the period of stagnation, as proved by instances in the USSR and in Hungary. Analysing the characteristics of the Hungarian and Soviet political reforms, he pointed out that Hungarian leadership had taken its own initiative in creating a multi-party system. Political pluralism in the Soviet Union is manifested primarily within the party and is similiar to what took place in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Forming a new party in the USSR, would only lead to the strengthening of conservative forces at this stage, Mr Ambhartzumov concluded.

CSSR's Rohlicek Attends Working Meeting

AU1904142989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Apr 89 p 7

[Unattributed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] Rudolf Rohlicek, deputy chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, and Istvan Huszar, secretary general of the National Council of the Patriotic

People's Front of the Hungarian People's Republic, held a working meeting in Gyor, in northern Hungary, on Monday [17 April]. They discussed the topical tasks of the two organizations under the present conditions of building socialism.

Bulgarian Minister Signs Accord, Departs

LD2004164189 Budapest MTI in English 1431 GMT 20 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (MTI)—Andras Derzsi, Hungarian minister of transport, telecommunication and construction, held talks in Budapest from April 17-20 with Trifon Pashov, Bulgarian minister of transport, on current issues of transport relations between the two countries. A protocol was signed on the talks.

The two ministers signed the inter-governmental agreement on international road, passenger and freight transport which replaces the 1959 contract.

Mr Pashov met Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy. On Thursday [20 April] the Bulgarian minister left Budapest.

PAP Reviews Agenda at 26-27 Apr Sejm Session

LD2704214189 Warsaw PAP in English
1928 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 27—The first and second reading of bills, changes in the composition of the government and the deputies' question time were on today's agenda of the Polish parliament's meeting.

Justice Minister Lukasz Balcer presented to the Sejm government bills on examining economic issues by common courts and on notary public. The intention of the former draft is to entrust economic courts as separate organizational units of common courts with the function of resolving disputes between participants in economic turnover.

The draft law on notary public introduces solutions aimed to improve the work of the institution in question and to reduce the costs of its activity. It will be possible to set up chapters of state and private notary offices as well as to form notary self-management.

Six deputies took part in the discussion on both draft laws.

The chamber sent the drafts to proper Sejm committees.

Next Vice-Premier Kazimierz Olesiak presented draft amendments to the law on protection of farmlands and woodlands. Between 1946 and 1988 the acreage of arable land per one citizen fell from 0.86 ha [hectares] to 0.48 ha. Despite stricter criteria applied to the use of arable land agriculture was deprived of as many as 145 thousand ha of best lands in the years 1982-88. Therefore the draft amendments propose to continue to take disciplinary measures in relation to those who deprive farming of best lands and to prefer to use worse quality land for non-farming purposes.

It is also suggested to impose annual fines on those who degrade and pollute cultivable [as received] land, proportionally to the value of losses they cause, as well as to introduce additional economic sanctions in relation to industrial enterprises which make a negative influence on surrounding farmlands.

The draft also proposes to make some to-date solutions in conservation of cultivable land more real and flexible, the vice-premier stated. For instance, it makes it possible to use some woodlands for the purposes of private housing construction, this creating some 100 thousand plots to be used by construction on the national scale.

Four deputies participated in the discussion on the draft. Generally, they assessed that the proposed directions of changes met social postulates half-way. The draft will be also examined by Sejm committees.

With no discussion taking place, the Sejm examined in the second reading and adopted the bills on the state enterprise "Polish State Railways," draft amendments to the Law on Environment Protection and planning and to the Law on Conservation and Use of Inland Waters (they envisage the terms of imprisonment and fines for sending waste to Poland, among other things), the Law on the Central Fund for Development of Science and Technology and draft amendments to the Law on the Formation of the Committee for Science and Technological Progress at the Council of Ministers and the Office for Scientific-Technological Progress and Applications.

The penultimate point on the agenda was a change in the composition of the Council of Ministers. The premier sent a letter to the Sejm Presidium, saying, among other things:

The concluded round table talks, reached settlements and published declarations require a new approach to the whole of the government information policy. The implementation of a program of political and economic reforms creates the necessity to unite the efforts of state mass media and administration bodies in the presentation to society of the government policy and in interpretation of it, in winning public opinion's approval of undertaken and conducted activities.

This requires a more complete than to-date coordination. I would like to charge a minister-member of the Council of Ministers with these tasks. He would be responsible for their complex realization and also present the government's stand on mass media to all subjects of public life as well as cooperate with the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party], the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party in this field. He would also head a team of bosses of the government news agencies.

The chief of the largest and most important state mass media, that is radio and TV, would head a team composed of the bosses of the Polish press agency PAP, the RZECZPOSPOLITA government paper, the government spokesman, the director of the government press office and radio and TV managers.

Thus, the team would be formed at the government to jointly analyse public opinion and outline a current line of information activities and also the way of presentation of the government activity. So far each government mass medium has been programming its activities separately, which has not been conducive to combining efforts.

Therefore the situation requires the appointment of the minister who would competently represent the government in this domain, and, being a government member, would be an appropriate partner, interlocutor for alliances, trade union organizations and other forces interested in transformations in the field of mass media.

The premier forwarded a motion to appoint Jerzy Urban to the post of the minister-member of the Council of Ministers who would hold the functions of the chairman of the radio and TV committee and of the government member whose powers would be broader.

Urban was appointed with 153 votes for, 97 votes against and 44 abstentions.

At the end of the session, the Sejm listened to responses by government's representatives to deputies' questions.

One of them concerned the current situation at the petrol market. The explanation given by Industry Minister Mieczyslaw Wilczek did not satisfy deputies. Wilczek pointed out that it was groundless to speak about a disorganized market since the first quarter of this year saw the 20-per cent increase of petrol deliveries to the market against the 1988 figures. The entire growth of supply must be covered by extra imports from Western countries. Decisions were made concerning such purchases and, according to the minister, the situation should improve in mid-May when larger deliveries of petrol reach Poland.

In response to the question about possibilities to broadcast the programmes of the Polish TV in the Vilna region and Belorussia, vice-minister for transport, shipping and communications Andrzej Golaszewski said that according to international regulations this could not be done without a permission issued by the Soviet authorities. What is needed above all are political decisions of the two sides concerned. The moment they are made, the undertaking can be carried into effect within eleven months.

Lech Walesa Holds 27 Apr News Conference

LD2704222889 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Gdansk, April 27—Today's press conference of Lech Walesa focused on the electoral campaign to the Sejm and Senate, the process of organizing Solidarnosc and Walesa's visit to Rome.

Lech Walesa once more rejected the rumour that he will be running for a seat in the Senate. He disapproved of attempts made by different opposition circles to forward their own candidates for deputies, and of slogans of proportional representation of different social groups in the elections. He said that Solidarnosc had been given such possibilities in the elections that it was not always able to use them well.

Referring to the May 1, Walesa said that that day should be celebrated with due decorum. One should think about the state of the working class and determine his attitude towards the realities, he added.

Lech Walesa told the press conference that he suggested the Independent Student Union NZS [Independent Association of University Students] abandoning a statutory entry on strikes. All over the world associations do not have such right. What is needed is a little wisdom, he said.

Walesa said that the process of the organization of "Solidarnosc" was proceeding quite slowly. This stems from a different situation and social moods than 8 years ago. At that time emotions counted, today people are expecting the first effects of our activity. Our activists have also changed. They have learned much. That is why we are not pushing organizational matters so strongly. We want more work, less emotions, Walesa pointed out.

Commenting on his visit to Rome, Walesa stated that in talks with trade unionists he had to explain that "Solidarity" in Polish conditions cannot be a trade union which only demands something. In order to divide, one must first produce. That is why I have asked for assistance in the economic elaboration of that which in the political sense was worked out at the "roundtable". We are in a transitory period, when one economic system has collapsed and the other one has not started to operate fully yet. Indexation, for example, is the result of this. It is a necessary evil from which we must depart quickly, Walesa stated.

Further on Conference

LD2704222989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] [Announcer] Lech Walesa met with journalists at a news conference. We were represented by Olgierd Pawlowski.

[Pawlowski] The conference today was opened as it were by the question of hoW the chairman of Solidarity evaluates the situation of the Gdansk shipyard today and at this moment.

[Begin Walesa recording] [Answer indistinct] [end recording]

[Pawlowski] Soviet journalists were in the hall and were sincerely greeted by Lech Walesa. After this came the final question of the news conference: Is a trip to the Soviet Union by the Solidarity chairman planned?

[Begin Walesa recording] I am prepared for [word indistinct] an invitation. I hope to, I would like to get to know many marvelous people of perestroyka and glasnost, precisely, to (?see) this reform. A stay there would probably serve all of us well. As you know I am very interested in these reforms. These are interesting, large reforms and [word indistinct] probably going further than ours and in association with this I would even like to go and search for their [word indistinct] conceptions myself. [end recording]

Adam Michnik Views Results of Roundtable Talks

PM2704154689 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 16-17 Apr 89 pp 1, 14

[Article by Solidarity adviser Adam Michnik: "Jaruzelski Give Us Your Hand; You Are Not the Enemy"]

[Excerpt] It was not a victory for the general. It was a victory for common sense. Around the roundtable we tried for the umpteenth time to reach agreement on the democratic reform of the system. And despite the many past failures, we doggedly drew up the basic principles of joint action to de-Stalinize Poland and to extricate it from its disastrous economic straits. We managed to agree in writing that both sides' aim must be to seek "an independent, sovereign Poland, secure within equal-based alliances, democratic, and economically strong."

The basis of the accord, as stated by common agreement, are the principles of a future political system "stemming from the citizens' inalienable right to live in a state that fully achieves national sovereignty." These principles include political pluralism, freedom of speech—which means real access to the mass media—a democratic system of representation in all the bodies of state power, the independence of the judiciary, and freely elected local self-management bodies with far-reaching powers.

It has been written that all this will open the way to parliamentary democracy, and the sides involved have pledged to "do their utmost to ensure that the composition of the future parliament is completely determined by the voters' will." The next Sejm elections will be only 35 percent democratic: This compromise reflects the shared belief that "the indispensable state reforms must be the result of a gradual process."

We have achieved considerable results with regard to the new law on associations and a reform of public opinion's methods of functioning [as published]. Some progress has been achieved in eliminating the penal code's most absurd laws. But above all, an agreement has been reached whereby Solidarity, Farmers' Solidarity, and the Independent Students' Union are entitled to act legally. This is no small thing. The dialogue examined past conflicts and the force of logic has replaced the logic of force. For how long?

The conversations were difficult, full of dramatic incidents. While we were formulating the roundtable documents, drawing up the list of matters that unite—or should unite—the Poles, we were aware at the same time of that which divides the Poles. Substantial disagreements emerged over the timetable for reforms and political decisions. According to the Solidarity representatives the most important thing is to set the democratization mechanisms in motion in the various fields of public life. To this end immediate changes in the judiciary were requested (for instance, an end to party membership for magistrates and to rules permitting incrimination for opposition activities, and the placing of certain activities of the security apparatus under the supervision of the judiciary); changes in the functioning of the media, especially television and radio, by entrusting the management of some programs to independent groups including the opposition; changes in territorial self-management; and various criteria for the selection of leadership cadres.

The government coalition side, very free in expressing general assessments, displayed a stubborn conservatism on these points. We Solidarity people stated that "the elimination of the nomenklatura system as the universal principle of government is the precondition for carrying forward the economic and political reforms and also an essential factor in galvanizing society." We therefore demanded an end to the system whereby political organizations grant approval, testimonials, and recommendations for responsible posts in enterprises.

We did not succeed in securing any concessions from our interlocutors on these points. I do not believe that the source of such resistance is to be sought in excessive caution or a lack of imagination. The dispute over the nomenklatura—and all the other disputes basically stem from this one—is essentially a conflict over the very heart of the Stalinist order. This is where the decisive battle will take place—not only in Poland but in the Soviet Union too.

Be that as it may, it is my no means certain how the forces will be deployed in this unavoidable and inevitable conflict. I will say this clearly: For many years I openly criticized General Jaruzelski, saying that I considered him incapable of conducting a dialogue with Solidarity. Now I want to say equally openly that I was wrong: Jaruzelski has begun to conduct a dialogue. This courageous change of course deserves respect. Nevertheless we must remember Lech Walesa's words here: The degree of joint responsibility depends on the degree of joint decisionmaking. This is why the principle of the nomenklatura must be smashed.

However, I do not delude myself: It will be stubbornly and uncompromisingly defended by all those who owe to it their positions of power and the attendant privileges. The Stalinist spirit of Nina Andreyeva is also alive in the offices of the Polish nomenklatura, as well as in Leningrad and Moscow. It manifests itself particularly strongly in the statements by National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] leaders, around which the radical wing of defenders of Stalinist communism have gathered. They are the very ones who tried to the end to obstruct and prevent the roundtable agreement.

Jaruzelski and his team face the need to choose between a compromise with us for the sake of democratization or a compromise with the others, in defense of the privileges of the nomenklatura. As the English proverb says,

you can't eat your cake and have it. The OPZZ opposition to the sliding scale agreement proves that these people will not stop short of any demagoguery in defense of their threatened positions. They will prompt an escalation of unrealistic and irresponsible demands to destabilize the economy and bring anarchy into public life. In my opinion the OPZZ is not a trade union at all but merely a Stalinist wing of the power bloc. Their proposals could ultimately lead to another state of martial law. This would be a disaster for Poland.

In Poland, as in the Soviet Union and all the other countries of real socialism, reformist and democratic aspirations are encountering, and will continue to encounter, tough opposition from the nomenklatura shaped by Stalinist models. Much depends on what stance is adopted by the government wing that led to the holding of the roundtable. At present OPZZ leader Miodowicz is effectively organizing the conservative lobby, with the support of the conservative leaders in East Berlin and Prague. This is why the Jaruzelski team's relations with the OPZZ are ambiguous. The months ahead will not be easy ones for Poland. However, I see no better path for Poland than the implementation of the roundtable accords. For the victory was not Jaruzelski's, but Solidarity's and Walesa's. In future, however, it is the interests of Poland and of Europe that must prevail.

Perez de Cuellar's Continues Warsaw Talks
LD2704084489 Warsaw PAP in English
0105 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, now on an official visit to Poland, held talks with leading Polish officials in Warsaw today.

President of the Council of State of Poland Wojciech Jaruzelski today received the U.N. secretary general. During the meeting the two exchanged views on the current international situation, with special attention attached to the role of the United Nations in strengthening peace and international security and the development of comprehensive international cooperation. The U.N. general secretary highly assessed the participation of Polish soldiers in U.N. operations.

The sides also discussed the correlation between development and debt and the significance of the U.N. in seeking solutions to this burning problem of the contemporary world. The president of the Council of State expressed a readiness to expand cooperation between Poland and the U.N. in this field with the participation of the Krakow-based centre of debt and development research.

Issues of natural environment protection ranked in the forefront of the topics discussed.

The president of the Council of State presented Poland's contribution to strengthening European security and the implementation of the idea of a common European home.

Wojciech Jaruzelski also briefed his guest on the process of deep transformations taking place in Poland and thanked the U.N. secretary general for his kind attitude towards them.

Javier Perez de Cuellar expressed appreciation for Poland's activities at the forum of the United Nations, stressing the importance of many Polish initiatives, among them the plan of decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe, the declarations on educating societies in peace and the children's rights convention.

The president of the Council of State and his wife gave a lunch in honour of the U.N. secretary and his wife.

Javier Perez de Cuellar next paid a visit to Polish Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers acquainted the guest with the process of socio-political and economic transformations taking place in Poland. A strong, thrifty Poland will be an even more worthy member of the United Nations, he pointed out.

The U.N. secretary general stated that he followed with tremendous respect and attention the bold, broad-ranged processes of reforms and restructuring being pursued in this part of Europe, especially in Poland and the Soviet Union. He underscored their impact and significance for the future of the European continent, for a secure and peaceful future of the world.

Both interlocutors expressed a hope that the creation of a common West European market would not become a barrier on the road to a united Europe.

Views were exchanged on the international situation and the role of the U.N. in its shaping.

During a meeting at the Sejm (parliament), Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski briefed the U.N. secretary general on the course and outcome of the conference of the chairmen of parliaments of Europe, the U.S. and Canada which was held in Warsaw last November and on activities to put to practice the conclusions and proposals presented at the conference.

Javier Perez de Cuellar expressed high esteem to the Sejm speaker for the initiative displayed by the Polish parliament which is conducive to the construction of European unity and strengthening international parliamentarian cooperation.

Malinowski relayed an invitation for the U.N. secretary general to take part or delegate a personal representative to the meeting of young parliamentarians which in line with the decisions of the November conference, will take place in Poland within the frame of the observances of the 50th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Poland and the outbreak of World War Two. The U.N. secretary general received this invitation with kind interest.

The Sejm speaker presented Javier Perez de Cuellar with a commemorative medal of the Sejm and a diploma conferred by the Sejm Presidium in appreciation of the growing role of the U.N. in the contemporary world and his personal contribution to the cause of preserving peace, mutual understanding and confidence between nations, solving regional conflicts and promoting interparliamentary cooperation.

The U.N. secretary general also held talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to discuss the to-date achievements and prospects of further development of cooperation between Poland and the U.N.

Minister Tadeusz Olechowski acquainted the secretary general with the Polish Government's high assessment of the significant strengthening of the role and significance of the U.N. which has occurred recently.

Minister Olechowski stressed the importance which Poland attached to multi-lateral disarmament negotiations. He expressed anxiety over the unsatisfactory progress in the work of the disarmament conference, particularly as regards the chemical weapons ban as well as a ban on nuclear weapon testing and preventing an arms race in outer space.

The U.N. secretary general expressed respect for Poland's activity in the United Nations and highly assessed the contribution of Poland in implementing the U.N.'s goals as entered in its charter. He drew special attention to the need for the U.N. to find a realistic solution to the issue of foreign debt. This subject matter should also be predominant at the upcoming 44th session of the U.N. General Assembly. Perez de Cuellar also said that the implementation of Polish initiatives concerning the issue of debt and social affairs would be the right step in this direction. He also expressed a conviction that the convention on children's rights should be adopted and endorsed the announcement of the international year of the family.

In the late afternoon Perez de Cuellar met with Chairman of "Solidarity" Lech Walesa at his residence.

Before departing from Warsaw, U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar talked to Polish newsmen. Asked to compare his impressions from the previous and present visit to Poland, the U.N. secretary general stated that during the first visit he spoke with Gen. Jaruzelski about an important evolution which was to take place in Poland.

"Now I realize, with pleasure, that this evolution has already started," Perez de Cuellar said, adding that the international community was following it with great interest and attention.

Asked about the positive transformations in the international situation and the role of the U.N. in solving regional conflicts, the U.N. secretary general stressed the great role of the summit between the leaders of the USSR and the U.S., Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in initiating this process. He added that they created the necessary climate for improving the situation. Javier Perez de Cuellar expressed a hope that his climate would be maintained by Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush.

Asked about the role of medium and small states, the U.N. secretary general stressed that they could play a tremendous role, both at the U.N. forum and outside it, provided that they combine efforts and act in a coordinated manner. He also underlined Poland's contribution to the development of international cooperation and the ideas of peace and disarmament.

In the evening Javier Perez de Cuellar, accompanied by Poland's Foreign Affairs Minister Tadeusz Olechowski arrived in Katowice from where he departed for Krakow.

Economic Visitor on Cooperation With Soviets

LD2704204789 Warsaw PAP in English
0952 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 27—The system reforms being introduced in Poland and the Soviet Union have brought changes to economic cooperation between the two countries, their essence being in opening the economy to market mechanisms. Those changes were touched upon in an interview granted to PAP by Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Dominik Jastrzebski. Excerpts from the interview:

"The problem is in leaving the old behind in the shortest possible time. Rakowski's government was appointed for that purpose, among other things.

"It is important that assumptions of our reforms are convergent. Both countries aim at increased enterprises' activity, at new forms of cooperation, at placing quality ahead of quantity, at departure from separate production for the home market, for the East and for the West.

"The trade between our countries should no longer be an exchange of mutual concessions. Both states want the turnover with each other, and not only with the West, to be a driving force of development. Our entering on the common road consists just in that. But the transitory period is not going to be easy, neither for us nor for the partner.

"I have no doubts that the Russians are ready for cooperation, for breaking out of the routine circle. We enjoy favourable conditions for developing economic

cooperation and therefore a common stance should be worked out, first of all, on directions of exports, on complementarity of turnover and on means for reaching these goals.

"It is not an empty, old-style statement. Despite growing mutual turnover each year, negative phenomena increased in our cooperation. They were of structural character. For years we have been copying traditional structures of goods deliveries on every growing scale. But now, the most important thing is that the Soviet side is open to constructive proposals and we are not going to give them up.

"A breakthrough is needed in the functioning of the clearing instruments within the CMEA. The work on the issue has started. It is possible, though, that such a model of improved cooperation will sooner be worked out on the bilateral plane.

"I see vast possibilities for joint companies. Several of those have already been set up. In talks with Minister Katushev I suggested forming Polish-Soviet companies with participation of third countries as it creates chances for gaining modern technologies.

"I also informed the minister about formation of a team for development of relations with the Soviet Union in Poland and suggested setting up a similar Polish-Soviet team. All initiatives were welcomed with satisfaction."

New PZPR Press Spokesman Interviewed

AU2804102789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Apr 89 p 7

[Interview with Jan Bisztyga, new press representative of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, by Pavol Minarik and Dalibor Macha in Warsaw: "By Way of Creating New Things; From Our Warsaw Reporters"—date not given]

[Text] A few days ago the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] appointed its new press representative; after the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], it was the second among all the fraternal communist and workers parties to do so. The comrade appointed is Jan Bisztyga, and our Warsaw reporters asked him for an interview.

[Question] What will your work consist of, what will you handle?

[Bisztyga] Like our whole party, my colleagues and I will already be working under the new conditions of legal pluralism, adopted at the roundtable and approved by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. The party's views and stands will therefore have to be presented more vigorously than to date and the political and ideological image of our whole society will have to be strengthened. We will have to speak far more frankly, and present the new party leadership's way of thinking, the roads leading to the important decisions, and the motives which have led to the adopted resolutions.

[Question] What do you consider the most important thing at present, what should our readers know?

[Bisztyga] At the 10th PZPR Central Committee session (in January 1989) we overcame the obstacles that have been hampering our party's policy for decades. This is the end of "easy-going" management, of issuing orders in party work. We know that we will have to fight every day anew for our leading position, and that we will have to go out among the people and win their approval for "tightening our belts" today in order to have a better life tomorrow.

[Question] Does the PZPR have a chance of continuing to be the stabilizing force of the country's socialist system under the present conditions of legalized pluralism in the Polish People's Republic.

[Bisztyga] Our long-term aim is to change the current model of socialism in Poland. We are now overcoming a period which we call bureaucratic socialism, and creating a new thing which we call socialist parliamentary democracy. That is why it was inevitable to carry out profound changes in the PZPR itself. The reassessment of the party's role in the state, in the economy and life of the whole nation, is becoming an essential condition for the successful implementation of these transformations. In fact, the PZPR—as the force representing the interests of the most numerous part of Polish society, i.e. the workers class and the progressive intelligentsia—is the main bearer and guarantor of the socialist system and of constitutional order. The party must remain the leading force in society, not because this is anchored in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, but because it is the bearer of its progressive reform program.

[Question] Various discrepancies, conflicts, and hampering phenomena are coming to the fore in the current transformation process...

[Bisztyga] The Marxist party is the only one capable of solving these problems without hurting the interests of the workers class. However, the PZPR's radical reforms include an important condition—they must be accepted by the broadest strata of society as their own. Nevertheless, we also realize that management is not the same as an indivisible rule. Nobody in Poland holds a monopoly on power, wisdom, and truth now, and nobody must hold it in the future. That is why it will be increasingly necessary to count on the initiatives of various forces, which will have to correspond to society's needs and expectations.

[Question] Solidarity was legalized a few days ago. Will PZPR members join it?

[Bisztyga] The party statutes do not contain anything to prevent PZPR members from choosing the trade union organization they wish to belong to. The problem lies elsewhere. It is necessary to analyze with exceptional attention the processes which will be taking place in the newly emerging structures of Solidarity. In the past our party members got to know through their own experience many negative aspects of this organization, from Solidarity's political commitment up to its antisocialist activities. In such cases it would surely be unnatural for communists to make Solidarity's potentially illegal actions more acceptable, merely by being present in the organization.

[Question] A new type of socialist parliamentary democracy is taking shape in Poland. What place in it will be held by the government coalition of the United Peasant Party (ZSL), the Democratic Party (SD), and the PZPR?

[Bisztyga] The political system evolving in our country cannot be just the result of an agreement reached "at the table." It must unite all real political forces in the country that are interested in reforms. The coalition establishes all conditions for that. The leading force in it is the PZPR, but that does not mean that the role of the other two coalition parties in decisions on national problems is negligible. Sometimes, when it comes to decisions on methods of management, even small political parties have the function of "tipping the scales." Under the current electoral system the PZPR no longer commands an absolute parliamentary majority, which establishes specific conditions for more fully appreciating its coalition partners. The PZPR's ability to cooperate with the ZSL and the SD—not only in the election campaign but also in everyday work at various levels—must become a new quality of our political culture. However, it is evident that we will have to learn this culture from scratch.

[Question] The date of the national conference of PZPR delegates (it is scheduled for 4-5 May) is drawing closer. What do the party and the entire society expect from it?

[Bisztyga] First of all, an assessment of the more than 2 and ½ years of the process of major reforms headed by the party and the working out of new principles of ideological order, which is indispensable for the PZPR's unity and, in particular, for its young generation. Its aim will also be the unification of the entire party in the most important period of elections to the Sejm and the Senate, which will be a serious political test of our membership base.

Official Denies Increase in Radioactivity

LD2804113389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 28 Apr 89

[Statement by Lublin Voivodship Health Inspector (Jerzy Iszko); date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] I do not know why someone has issued a report to the effect there is an increase in radioactive contamination, supposedly because of an explosion in Czechoslovakia. The equipment shows a natural level of radiation. There is no increase. Equipment not only here but at other scientific and service bases shows no increase in radiation. Nevertheless, a rumor is circulating to the effect that one should not allow children to go out for walks, that they should be kept locked up at home, in kindergarten, and in schools.

I do not know who is responsible for causing this confusion. One thing is sure: No conclusion can be drawn from the behavior of nature. The equipment shows nothing, and anyone who has the opportunity of checking may ascertain this. Those willing may even come along and we will show them that the instruments are switched on and that there is nothing there.

2,000 Demonstrate To Repeal Legal Abortion

AU2804092089 Paris AFP in English 0844 GMT 28 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 28 (AFP)—Two thousand people marched in silence through the streets of Warsaw on Thursday night as part of a nationwide campaign being spearheaded by the Catholic Church to have the law legalising abortion repealed.

Women, holding their children by the hand or pushing prams, were at the front of the demonstration, which had been given official authorisation.

The march began after mass at St. Anne's parish church in the old part of town and ended in a rally at the tomb of the unknown soldier, where a speaker addressed the crowd, calling for the 1956 abortion act to be rescinded.

The church is putting its full weight behind a group of Catholic MPs who are trying to push a bill through parliament which would make abortion illegal in all cases, including rape and where the mother's life is threatened.

The bill is being studied by a parliamentary committee and could be put to the vote in the coming weeks.

It would impose harsh penalties—three years prison—on women who had abortions, doctors who performed them and any third party who helped procure terminations.

In the run-up to the vote, the Catholic press has mounted a campaign to drum up public support for the bill. A huge banner bearing with the words "Save Our Children" has gone up outside the university in central Warsaw. Posters showing a 12-week old foetus with the caption "Have you already killed your own child", have appeared all over the city.

A spokesman for a recently formed "committee for social protest against the assassination of foetuses" said demonstrations like Thursday's silent march were planned nationwide.

"Abortion is morally repugnant and the 1956 law has made it a commonplace affair", the spokesman said.

The church's forcing of the issue is likely to cause serious ructions in a country where 90 per cent of the population are practising Catholics, but 14 out of every 100 pregnancies are terminated, according to official figures.

The pro-abortion lobby has accused the 78 MPs—out of 400—who have said they support the bill of irresponsibility, pointing to the chronic shortage of contraceptives. It has also noted that only eight of the MPs backing the bill are women.

According to the press, production of condoms last year was 30 million—which works out at two each for every male. That does not take into account the general poor quality of the product. According to the English language weekly VOICE OF WARSAW, one out of every three condom made in Poland is not 100 per cent reliable.

The Catholic Church has also stepped up its condemnation of "non-natural" methods of contraception. An indication of its influence, is that in 1986 it managed to get a sex education book for schoolchildren withdrawn from circulation.

The prospect of a parliamentary debate on repealing the abortion law is regarded with horror in some quarters. The party daily TRYBUNA LUDU commented recently:"It's a veritable nightmare to think of our prisons being filled with doctors and mothers. This bill is quite simply inhumane".

Convicted Killer of Priest Chmielewski Freed

LD2704171489 Warsaw FAP in English
1656 GMT 26 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—Waldmar Chmielewski, one of the convicted kidnappers and murderers of Father Jerzy Popieluszko completed prison sentence on April 24 this year, PAP journalist learnt at the central administration of penitentiary institutions.

Chmielewski was sentenced on February 7, 1985, by the voivodship court in to run to 14 years of prison, but the Supreme Court, applying Article 4 of the law on special proceedings against perpetrators of certain crimes of June 17, 1986, reduced the sentence to four and a half years and Chmielewski served it in full. The other perpetrators are serving prison terms according to the court verdict.

Ceausescu Receives Western Australia's Burke

AU2604130089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1236 GMT 26 Apr 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/4/1989—President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Wednesday 26 April the visiting ex-premier of Western Australia, Brian Thomas Burke.

The guest gave President Nicolae Ceausescu a message of greetings from Australia's Prime Minister Robert Hawke and the premier of Western Australia, Peter Dowding.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and conveyed the prime minister of Australia and the premier of Western Australia his greetings and best wishes.

The talk covered the state of the implementation of important long-term cooperation ventures agreed upon during last year's official visit to Australia of President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu, as well as the significance of dynamizing and speeding up the translation into life of the understandings then made.

The wish was expressed to work further and identify new and different areas of cooperation, on the basis of equal rights, mutual interest and advantage.

Local Civic Debt Repayment Rallies Summed Up

AU2704173889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1548 GMT 27 Apr 89

["Nearly 3 Million Participants in Civic Rallies in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/4/1989—The civic rallies held in Romania's capital and in numerous municipalities and towns of the country shortly after the 12-14 April plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and the Grand National Assembly session which adopted resolutions and laws of great significance for all counties' economic and social development in the next five-year period till the year 2000 gathered nearly 3 million working people of various professions and social categories.

Organized upon the initiative of party organizations, of the organisms of Romania democracy, the rallies gave an expression to the moral and political cohesion of the Romanian people round the Communist Party, to its determination to implement the RCP and Romanian state's home and foreign policy devoted to the country's manysided progress, to the growth of international collaboration and cooperation and the ensurance of a climate of peace and understanding among all the peoples of the world.

The speakers underscored Romania's achievements in the years of socialist construction, especially after the Ninth RCP Congress (1965) on an economic, social, cultural and scientific plane, and showed their satisfaction and patriotic pride for the fact that, in the current international situation, Romania was the first country in the world to have liquidated its foreign debt, which proves the force and vitality of the Romanian economy and provides conditions for the fulfillment of the targets regarding the country's future development and the steady rise in the population's material and spiritual standards.

Meeting Marks 1939 May Day Demonstration

AU2604183889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1743 GMT 26 Apr 89

["National Scientific Session"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 26/4/1989—On 26 April Bucharest was the venue of a national scientific session devoted to the anniversary of 50 years since the historic antifascist and antiwar demonstration of May Day 1939 to the organization of which RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu made a decisive contribution.

Organized by the Central Committee [CC] of the Romanian Communist Party, the session gathered full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council and of the government, executives of central institutions, of mass and public organizations, party and state activists, representatives of the scientific and cultural life, working people of Bucharest enterprises.

In his opening address, Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, highlighted that the session was an opportunity to recall the activity carried out by the RCP against exploitation and oppression, for national and social liberation, for the ensurance of the country's independence and sovereignty, to underscore the great transformations occurred in Romania in the economic, social, cultural and scientific life, more particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress (1965).

Reading papers were: Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of RCP, Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, Neagu Andrei, chairman of the War Veterans' Committee, Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the GTUCR [General Union of Romanian Trade Unions] Central Council, Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP and Ion Ursu, alternate

member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first vice-chairman of the National Committee for Science and Technology.

The papers read stress that celebrating 50 years since the great demonstration of May Day 1939 and 100 years since the proclamation of the 1st of May as the day of international solidarity of working people everywhere the Romanian people is highly appreciative of the activity carried out by the RCP, by the party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu in the fight for unity, freedom, social and national justice, for the attainment of the ideals of independence and sovereignty, for the triumph of socialism and communism on the Romanian soil, of the cause of world peace and cooperation.

Reference was made to the workers' demonstrations organized on May Day in Romania as early as 1890, to the role of the working class in rallying the advanced forces in society in the fight for freedom, democracy, for economic and social progress.

The great patriotic antifascist and antiwar demonstration of May Day 1939—it was stressed during the session—was the first powerful demonstration in Europe at that time that called not only the Romanian people, the working class in Romania but also the working class across the continent to fight against fascism and war. The papers underscored that that action, just as the workers' demonstrations held in over 80 settlements of the country brought to the fore the programmatic, fundamental ideas of the RCP, the role of the working class as the major force of society, the possibilities it had at that time to oppose Hitlerism and the policy of the revisionist states. It was the Romanian Communist Party that had the mission to achieve the unity of action of the democratic forces of the country, creating a national consensus against fascism and war which led to the historic victory of 23 August 1944, to the creation of the united party of the working class and the passage to the building of the socialist society in Romania.

The papers underline the revolutionary spirit of the actions undertaken by the RCP after the Ninth Congress of 1965 in all the areas of the political, economic and social life, President Nicolae Ceausescu's decisive contribution to the making and implementation of the home and foreign policy of the Romanian party and state, to the building of Socialist Romania of today. Stress was laid during the session on the significance of the thesis—substantiated by the RCP general secretary—concerning the ever more powerful enhancement of the role of the working class, of the Romanian Communist Party as the political leader, as the vital centre of the Romanian society, built with the people and for the people.

Highlighting the scope of the changes occurred in Romania in the past 24 years the papers emphasized that Romania is today an industrial-agrarian country, with a modern industry organized on the basis of the latest gains in the contemporary science and technology, with a thriving socialist agriculture in full swing, a powerful base for the development of science, education and culture, a country providing for a rising welfare, materially and spiritually, of all people. An exceptional achievement of our time is the repayment of the entire foreign debt of Romania, it was assessed during the session.

The session was an opportunity to underscore the active foreign policy promoted by the RCP and the Romanian state, the initiatives and actions of President Nicolae Ceausescu meant to contribute strengthening peace, friendship and operation with all states, irrespective of their social system, to constructively settling, in the interest of all peoples, the major and complex issues of the present-day world.

New Ships Launched at Galati Shipyards

AU2704174089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1551 GMT 27 Apr 89

["New Sea-Going Ships"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/4/1989—Two new ships of 15,000 dwt were launched at Galati shipyard (southeastern Romania) and a new 35,000 dwt oil tanker left the shipyard's dry dock, conditions being thus created for the launching of another two export ships.

In the over 30 years of experience in ship building, a high integration level has been attained. So, whereas about 80-to-95 per cent of the equipment mounted on the first cargo were imported, now the [word indistinct] degree stands at almost 98 per cent.

Dizdarevic Chairs SFRY Presidency Session

LD2704182689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—At the session held on 26 April, chaired by President Raif Dizdarevic, the SFRY Presidency examined a report on the realization of the SFRY Presidency's decisions on the introduction of the state of emergency in the SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] of Kosovo. The Presidency noted that the situation was getting calmer and that conditions should be created for the speedier stabilization of the general situation in the province. The broadest political and public activity is the most important factor in this.

The SFRY Presidency examined and adopted a report on the recent visits of the SFRY Presidency President to the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic. [passage omitted]

The SFRY Presidency was also reported to have examined and adopted the report of the federal secretariat for National Defense on the combat readiness of the SFRY Armed Forces in 1988 and established main tasks for this year. Combat readiness was assessed as being preserved and in some important aspects, even improved. The Presidency also examined a report on the performance of military courts and military prosecutor's offices last year. Military legislative organs were noted as having carried out their functions in keeping with the SFRY Constitution and laws, contributing to the consolidation of the country's security and the moral-political situation in the Armed Forces.

The SFRY Presidency extended special recognition and gratitude to the leading structure and all the members of the Armed Forces for their conscientious and responsible carrying out of all duties and tasks. The Presidency stressed that the Armed Forces preserved their Yugoslav and national character, internal ideopolitical unity, and moral strength, which is of utmost importance for the ability to defend the country and to preserve its integrity.

Examining the political and security situation the SFRY Presidency drew attention to recent more frequent attacks on the security service organs, unsubstantiated suspicions, unacceptable qualifications, and accusations of these organs and services that carry out responsible and complex tasks in the interest of the country's security, its democratic development, and the protection of personal and material security of citizens.

The Presidency believes that it is the duty of all social factors to strive to defend the integrity and reputation of the security organs and services; this is stated in the session's communique. At the same time the Presidency points out that the security organs and services are responsible for their work to organs established by the Constitution and laws, which on their part have a social effect and control over the legality of their work assessing it either as a whole or in individual cases by merit. [passage omitted]

Further on Presidency Meeting

LD2704205389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1813 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, April 27 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav State Presidency and Government reviewed the security situation in the country at separate sessions on Wednesday and Thursday.

The State Presidency noted that attacks on security organs and services have recently become increasingly frequent.

Suspicions, unargumented and unacceptable qualifications and accusations against these organs and services which are carrying out responsible and complex tasks in the interests of the country's security, its democratic development and the protection of personal and property security of citizens is unfounded, a statement from the session said.

The Presidency holds that it is the duty of all social factors to work towards the defence of the integrity and reputation of the security organs and services. The Presidency at the same time points out that in their activity, the security organs and services are responsible to organs stipulated by the Constitution and the laws which control the legality of their work and pass competent judgement on it, both in its entirety and in individual cases.

The Yugoslav Government today heard Interior Secretary Petar Gracanin's report on the current security situation in the province of Kosovo which though still serious and with further unrest not ruled out, is showing signs of calming down.

Depending on the further development of the situation, this creates the conditions for a gradual easing of the measures now in force in the southern province where 24 people were killed in clashes between Albanian separatists and nationalists and the security forces last month.

Milosevic Gives Speech at Serbian LC Session

LD2704141389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1231 GMT 26 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—The Serbian League of Communists [LC] is embarking on preparations for the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress and of its own 11th congress aware of the major political results it has achieved in the struggle for equality and unity in Serbia and against the bureauracy as the main obstacle on the road of socialist democratic changes.

By its separatist policy which was aimed at destroying Serbia, the bureaucracy in Vojvodina was the mainstay of all conservative forces in Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic said, bringing to a conclusion the debate at today's session of the Serbian LC Central Committee devoted to the preparations for and the organization of the 11th Serbian LC Congress.

Opportunism forced Kosovo bureaucracy into a situation where it sided with the forces of Albanian separatism and terrorism.

The eighth session and our showdown with opportunist maneuvering and politicking paved the way for powerful democratic processes in Serbia, Milosevic said. The political victory over bureacracy was won by all citizens, the working class, intelligentsia, young people, and war veterans through organized and spontaneous democratic and scientific debates and also through countering strong resistance in individual organizations and institutions, and through their rallies and meetings.

This large-scale mobilization served to release great creative and democratic resources which will undoubtedly preserve the continuity of the policy of changes and help to implement the reformist ideas. These are ideas about the autonomy for enterprises on a single Yugoslav market, about producers' willingness to enjoy the fruits of their labor and entrepreneurial spirit, and at the same time to take risks, about the type of social democracy in which various programs and concept will compete with each other on an equal footing and in which the citizens will, through direct direct elections and secret ballot, choose from among the proponents of these differing programs and concepts. These are ideas characteristic of a materially rich and politically free society. These are ideas of a Yugoslavia as a harmonious federation of equal nations and nationalities and a democratic community of all its citizens and producers, Milosevic stressed.

Yugoslavia of this type, such a federation, such democracy, and changes do not suit the bureaucracy. In the next elections in both the LC and in society in general responsible positions must be given only to individuals whose courage and determination, know-how and results show that they are capable of carrying out necessary changes.

The example of Vojvodina demonstrated how the enormous working, creative and political energy blocked by bureaucratic practices could be released through democratic process and by people's advancement on the historical scene. In Kosovo the resolute action by Communists and, above all, by progressively oriented Albanians showed the strength of those forces among the Albanian population which are prepared to oppose nationalist and separatist policies, which favor unity in Serbia and which understand that the future of Albanians in Yugoslavia is in their harmonious coexistence with Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims, Romanies, and all others who see Yugoslavia as their common homeland.

By the national harmony and brotherhood in Kosovo and Vojvodina and in the entire republic, by the continued enhancement of democratic rights and by consistency in the struggle for social reform and against bureaucracy, Serbia and its citizens will considerably contribute to the development of similar processes and relations in Yugoslavia as a whole. In its battle for socialist democracy the LC itself must act as a democratic organization. In other words, it has to reflect the interests of primarily the working class and also of the entire democratic public.

There is no democracy in any republic, not even in Serbia, without democracy in Yugoslavia. In the same way that there is no stable and strong Yugoslavia if in any one of its parts human rights and freedoms are under threat, no one of our republics will be stable without the stability of the entire country. The federation implies such relations, and they are a condition for its survival.

In calling for a federation organized on that basis we are not trying to impose anything on anyone. It would be dishonest of us to behave in any other way since we would not accept any impositions on Serbia which would be against the will and interests of its citizens. In this connection we want our friends and comrades as well as our opponents both at home and abroad to know that Yugoslavia as a socialist and democratic community of equal nations and nationalities, has the deepest interest in the Serbian nation and in all the nations and nationalities living in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, in Serbia's working class, and all its citizens. We are convinced that this interest is shared by all the nations and nationalities and the working class of the entire country. This interest is of crucial importance for emerging from the crisis.

In other words, all the changes to be carried out as parts of a comprehensive social reform, which we will advocate during preparations for the 11th Serbian League of Communists Congress and the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, in cooperation with all other parts of the socialist front, should help to strengthen such a Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic said, ending his speech.

Milosevic Meets Work, Social Group Leaders

Speaks on Economic Reform

AU2704194089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] The organization of the economy on the basis of enterprise laws and social reform must be carried out urgently and resolutely, said Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the

League of Communists of Serbia in talks with leaders of work and social organizations during today's visit to the Slobodan Penezic Krcun copper and aluminum rolling-mill collective in Sevojno. Here is a report by Milorad Milosavljevic:

Through all their negative elements, the economic crisis and uncurbed inflation have for years shaken the stable trends in the business operations of the Slobodan Penezic Krcun copper and aluminum rolling-mill. Some systemic measures greatly contributed to this as did, to a greater extent, the division in the collective on the basis of the application of the law on associated labor.

Speaking about correcting these social errors, Slobodan Milosevic said among other things:

[Begin Milosevic recording] At a time when the whole world found itself faced with the need for great integrations, we fell into the process of the most serious disintegration and separation, that also transfered into relations within the country. This process of segregation, separation, and separatist consciousness was not only present at the republic and provincial level, but among basic organizations of associated labor—as you well know—and in mutual confrontations, as well as among work organizations within composite organizations of associated labor organizations, and among communes, and so on. People looked more at what separates and what is some kind of personal conflict in interest with community interests and did not look at how we could do something better together which would be of use.

We simply do not have the time now to treat the correction of these fatal mistakes, which were made under the influence of the system that had been established, in the same thorough way as we made them. Let me be immediately clear: I think that we should not fail to put ourselves in opposition to all these problems and the fictionally employed, technological surpluses, and mistaken organization in a lowly and, let me say, hair-splitting way, so that we now find out among ourselves who is more or less to blame for one or another solution. These solutions were created by the system.

This now means that we must bear in mind that all of us together must invest all our forces to assess how to quickly extricate ourselves from this. Therefore, we should not plan the future using the logic of yesterday. We should not reach the situation where these processes of explanation and so on last for too long. This is the consciousness from the time of a consensus economy. [end recording]

Re-organization in the spirit of reform and the market economy must be worked on more quickly, said Slobodan Milosevic and then cited possible solutions for the unemployment which will appear.

[Begin Milosevic recording] We are a socialist society and we cannot simply lay people off and say: all right, 100,000 workers are now on the streets. We cannot resolve the crisis in that way. But we can resolve it in such a way that we provide those personal incomes that total less than what we spend every year to cover losses at collectives that we do not dare shut down because we have not found institutional solutions to cover the personal incomes of those who would have to be temporarily unemployed. This would have to come after a rational, criteria-based economic analysis, so that employees would later be moved on to another branch, into another field that will be capable of putting greater profits and earnings into the market. This is in the interests of the workers, the interests of society, and in the interests of increasing total reproduction capability. [end recording]

After talks in the copper and aluminum rolling-mill and a tour of the Prvi Partizan metal plant, Slobodan Milosevic laid flowers at the legendary Kadinjaca monument and paid his respects to the heroes of the workers battalion. He finished his visit to the Titovo Uzice area with a visit to Ivanjica and the Javor textiles factory.

Criticizes Reform Resistance

LD2704163289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1049 GMT 27 Apr

[Text] Titovo Uzice, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—Dogmatic and bureaucratic forces and enemies of market orientation are lying in wait for the first serious difficulties in the implementation of reform to propose their solutions. Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium said this last night during talks with representatives of economic and political life of the region and municipality of Titovo Uzice. Milosevic went on to say:

The problem is that, objectively speaking, they and other opponents of economic reform have already been given the opportunity to obscure in practice the main direction of the implementation of economic reform and to water down or block means and energy necessary for implementation. All of this is more serious in light of the fact that exponents of antimarket conceptions are not the only interest groups which will resist reform. Implementation of economic reform objectively has to jeopardize the interests of everyone who has learned to base their livelihoods either on bureaucratic and voluntaristic control of labor and social capital or on the illusion that socialism means prosperity without work, that is—the right to the work place regardless of one's contribution to work. Clearly, some politicians feel that with reform their means and instruments of authority and power are slipping away. It is also clear that some directors, that is, managers, have not based their collectives' policies on the market and economic gain but on administrative and political factors. There are some workers who are not really workers, but who are only registered and have the monopolistic right to the work place, which we discussed

last week at the session of the Commission for Reform. It is in the interest of all of them to keep the status quo and not allow the changed relations, which would be brought about by reform, to undermine their leisurely, protected and socially harmful, I would say, parasitic positions. But it is in the interest of society as a whole, and in particular, its vital progression to liquidate once and for all this network of idleness, negligence, irresponsibility, indiscipline and unjustified privatization and partialization of the national income and social wealth; and to base our future on vitality, knowledge, capabilities which we undoubtedly have, on qualitative and responsible work, on more comprehensive and better use of social capital and all other advantages which provide opportunities for us to get closer to Europe, where we belong, Milosevic said.

Our future is in the hands of the most capable collectives and cadres, the most vital and most energetic subjects who wants to and can implement changes both for their own and society's sake. Reform cannot be carried out by average economic subjects, and especially not by those who are below average. Only then would it be possible to improve average productivity, living standards, and the quality of life.

In part of his speech Milosevic looked at the issue of cadres. He said that the times when political leaderships or presidents of workers' councils came to committees and asked the committees to find directors for them are gone. Committees do not have directors on their shelves. The new directors and new management teams which can take collectives out of the crisis and which can envisage new forms of production and who can compete in world markets are in the collectives themselves. And, if the LC is to have a task in this, it should be activating the enormous forces in the economy. Among these latent forces is our most neglected investment in knowledge, in young educated people, who as a result of various prejudices are at some insignificant work places, despite the fact that they are highly qualified and that their knowledge can help associated labor, their own collectives, and the whole society.

Milosevic also talked about events in Kosovo and stressed that the latest events are attempts to save a politically fallen separatist policy which has been carried out through legal bodies and with the intention of realizing the idea of a greater Albania with territory from Serbia and Yugoslavia through pressure, immigration and the creation of an ethnically pure Kosovo. It was the loss of political ground which caused members of the separatist movement for secession of Kosovo from Yugoslavia to panic, to use violence and terrorist criminal means, that is, to conflict physically with organs of the Yugoslav state. Some have called these developments the worsening of the situation in Kosovo. I do not agree with this view. Conflict with a separatist movement is not a worsening of the situation but is the road toward victory, and postponing the clash is the road to defeat. The best evidence for this is the fact that in the last few years, when we postponed the clash and buried our heads in the sand, several thousand people immigrated from Kosovo under less serious pressure than that in the last days of March and February. Still, the years of postponement were bloody. We still remember individual murders, rapes, and pressures which all together resulted in several thousand people being forced to leave their ancestral homes. We should not be under the illusion that a separatist movement will not try to commit fresh crimes in the future. They will try, but such attempts have no chance to succeed. Now it has become clear that the policy of trust in Albanians, in the Albanian people, in their need to live in peace and harmony, in reality of the creation of the united front of Albanians, Serbs, and Montenegrins and others who live in Kosovo, is the winning policy. This policy must win in the long run precisely because it is based on national equality. It is also the only current policy for Yugoslavia as a multiethnic community. Any policy which overlooks the fact that Yugoslavia is a multiethnic community does not have a chance to succeed in the long run, Slobodan Milosevic said.

Speaks on LC Tasks in Priboj

AU2704161889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia, is visiting the Titovo Uzice region today. This morning, he visited a car factory and the Poliester chemical factory in Priboj, and then the Slobodan Penezic Krcun copper and aluminum rolling mill of Sevojno and the Prvi Partizan plant in Titovo Uzice, where he acquainted himself with the work of the largest collectives in this region.

In Priboj, Slobodan Milosevic spoke to representatives of the sociopolitical and work organizations of this commune. After recalling that the constitutional formation of the Socialist Republic of Serbia had been concluded, Milosevic spoke about our forthcoming tasks.

[Begin Milosevic recording] A great burden has been removed from the shoulders of Serbia and the Serbian people, and from all citizens in Serbia. A great injustice has been eliminated, and now every one of us in Serbia has his hands free for the great work in the social reforms which is our next task and at the same time our urgent task.

True, we decided on a comprehensive social reform in the ideological sense several years ago. As soon as it was clear that society was in a great economic, political, and social crisis, it was also clear that it could not be resolved with any palliative measures and steps, or with reforms in individual parts of the system. At the first conference of the Serbian LC, we decided on tasks connected with reform and [words indistinct] to implement them, so to speak, immediately, but not with that speed which we considered essential, which we considered necessary.

The slowing down of these activities was connected with the constitutional changes which, even though they themselves were a part of the reform that I am talking about, mobilized virtually all our forces for themselves.

Therefore, finally freed from this obligation, we can today activate all the forces that we have at our disposal in the reforms as a whole, and above all in those reforms concerning the economy and which boil down in the end to an improvement of the work and living conditions of all citizens in our republic.

Everything that can be done in Serbia in this respect, that is to say, all those changes which we can implement independently from the corresponding changes in the federation, will be carried out immediately. To put it in the shortest and simplest way, the aim of these changes is to live better. To reach this aim, we need another homogenization and another mobilization. Let me be sincere and let me be clear, this means the same mobilization and the same homogenization as we had for the constitutional changes in Serbia.

Let no one think that I have merely blurted out the words mobilization and homogenization. On the contrary, I think that mobilization and homogenization have recently been established in Serbia in a progressive and social task which has been in the interests of all citizens in Serbia and has not been to the detriment of any part of our country or of any Yugoslav people or nationality. Moreover, neither mobilization nor homogenization has encompassed only Serbia but all, that is to say, the majority of citizens in Serbia. I have already said this once at the 20th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and I am repeating it now. However, I stress that the same mobilization and homogenization of all citizens in Serbia are also needed now for the implementation of great social reforms, because this is again a question of a progressive social aim; the achievement of this aim is in the interest of everyone who lives in Serbia.

Not one people nor one nationality, nor one citizen in Serbia has a greater interest than any other in living better. On the contrary, an improvement in economic, social, political, and cultural life is of equal interest to all citizens and, in this respect, no differences, not even national ones, divide them. Just as we could not have adopted the Constitution had we not all been together and in harmony, perhaps the social reform depends to an even greater extent on joint effort and harmony. No one will be able to divide the citizens in Serbia over its implementation.

A large Muslim community lives here in this region. I am aware that sinister, primitive forces are trying to sow seeds of discord between them and Serbs and Montenegrins, for example. Comrades, in many national communities those who are against these communities always operate more easily by provoking national divisions. This method has been tested historically and has proven to be effective. However, precisely because it has been tested and is well-known, it has also been compromised to a certain extent, therefore without great and (?honest) political talk and intervention from the so-called political leadership, I hope that this card will never be played in this community or anywhere else in Serbia.

As in many other areas of Serbia, many peoples and nationalities live here. They all should know that they live together and on an equal footing in their republic, and that they should share both good and evil in it, so that there is no other heirarchy among them apart from the one that is established on the basis of work and contributions to the development of society.

Any disturbance, any neglect which would be on a national basis, must be met with sharp condemnation, regardless of which national community it comes from. [applause] [end recording]

Defense Committee Sees Signs of Kosovo Stability

LD2704200489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—Today the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of Kosovo stated that the political and security situation in the province is still complex, but that there are some signs of a reduction in tensions and a normalization of life. For that reason, the committee believes that on the occasion of the forthcoming May Day holiday all appropriate cultural and recreational activities, such as trips and the like, should be held.

The statement from the session of the Kosovo Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection stresses that, with a view to the complex situation, the workers and citizens of the province should act in accordance with (?measures) [word indistinct] of the SFRY Presidency. It notes that no reactions, excesses, and similar actions which could lead to a disturbance of the public order and peace should be allowed. If workers and citizens prevent disturbances of the public order and peace, they will make a great contribution to stabilizing the situation in Kosovo, the statement concludes.

Kosovo Presidency Terms Situation 'Improved'

LD2704142889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 26 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—At today's session the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo judged that the situation has gradually improved owing to the measures of the organs of power and other organs and also to increasingly escalated ideological and political activity, which has been led in every environment and at every level, of the League of Communists [LC] and other organized socialist forces.

The Presidency noted that the hostile structures, primarily Albanian nationalists and separatists in conjunction with Albanian emigres and other foreign factors, are trying to sustain tensions and the feeling of insecurity in the province and in the country by spreading lies and falsehoods about the situation in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. They are trying to cause discord and conflict between our nations and nationalities by spreading misinformation, inappropriate commentaries, and hostile verbal propaganda and by writing hostile slogans and pamphlets.

The statement from the session says that the broader masses in Kosovo, Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, Romanies, and others, are aware that they can protect, develop and improve the community of our nations and nationalities, only if they are united, fraternal and equal. Any other alternative would be fatal for the future and welfare of our country.

The Presidency concluded that the struggle for the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo should still be resolute, energetic and comprehensive.

Any attempt at hostile activity will be prevented with all possible measures. Prevention of hostile activity is the basic condition for the peaceful and secure life of all citizens of the province. In respect to that, the resolute and persistent implementation of the Constitution and law has special importance.

Today's expanded session of the Kosovo Presidency stressed that it is of special importance to continue further intensive political work in all environments, and within this framework it is of the primary importance to implement resolutely ideological and political differentiation on the lines of the assessments and stances of the LCY and the LC's of Kosovo and Serbia. All this will contribute to consolidation of the joint front of all progressive forces for speedier and more comprehensive stabilization of the situation in the province.

Starting from the general economic crisis in the country, in particular in Kosovo, which has considerable influence also on the political and security situation, the Presidency drew attention to the need for making more efforts and being more disciplined at work, having increased and improved production, because only work can overcome the present economic and social difficulties.

The statement says that at today's session the Presidency discussed a report on improvements of territorial defense in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Montenegrin LC Extraordinary Congress Begins

Vukotic Welcomes Delegates

LD2704102489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0947 GMT 25 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Titograd, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—Precisely at 1000 today the 10th Extraordinary Congress of the Montenegrin League of Communists [LC] started in the building of sociopolitical organizations in Titograd. Dr Veselin Vukotic, coordinator for the LC Central Committee, welcomed delegates and guests at the beginning of the congress. A League of Communists of Yugoslvia [LCY] Central Committee delegation, headed by Milan Pancevski, and representatives of sociopolitical, cultural and public life in Montenegro and the LC, are representatives of newly founded organizations—the Titograd Committee for Human Rights, the Association for Improvement of Democratic Processes from Niksic, and the Association of Unemployed from Bijelo Polje. Guests of the congress include prominent revolutionary Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo and representatives of Montenegrin war veterans living in Belgrade.

Having elected the working presidium, whose first chairman was Milica Pejanovic-Djurisic, the congress adopted the agenda and elected working bodies for the congress. Afterwards Dr Veselin Vukotic read the report "The LC of Montenegro and its Philosophy of Development." [transmission interrupted, TANJUG part 2 not received]

Having adopted the report of the Verification Commission, it was proposed that the congress decide the number, structure, and ways of electing members of the Montenegrin LC bodies.

After a brief discussion, a decision about the number, structure, and ways of electing Montenegrin LC members was adopted by a majority of votes. [passage omitted]

Bozidar Zonjic expressed his belief that the extraordinary LCY Congress will clear the unbearable situation at the LCY top and in society, and which is, according to him caused by the unprincipled coalition headed by Stipe Suvar.

It is high time Zonjic said, that the question of responsibility is given stricter treatment at all levels and in all institutions of the state. I demand responsibility for everyone who betrayed Yugoslavia, who broke it up by weakening its economic and political power. I also demand political and criminal responsibility for all propagators of counterrevolution, all exponents of separatism and nationalism. I demand political responsibility for everyone who is abetting quarreling between our nations and nationalities or is destroying brotherhood and unity, Zonjic stressed. [passage omitted]

The delegates adopted the report of the electoral commission which endorsed draft proposals for candidates for organs of the Montenegrin LC and organs of the LCY. Danilo Vuksanovic, chairman of this commission, said that 88 names were on the electoral list for the Montenegrin Central Committee, culled from the list of 227 candidates proposed at extraordinary LC Conferences in all 20 Montengrin municipalities. From this list

the delegates of the 10th Montenegrin LC Congress will elect 19 candidates for members of the highest-ranking party body of our country. [passage omitted]

The 10th Extraordinary Congress of the Montenegrin LC must be the congress of the future, Milo Djukanovic stressed. [passage omitted]

The restructuring of the Montenegrin economy in these conditions is unavoidable. It can be postponed but not avoided, and it will be more painful with every passing day from the social viewpoint. [passage omitted]

It is above all important to create and reaffirm a new, aggressive, modern, business-orientated, and European way of thinking and behavior. Instead of present restrictions and freezes we must develop prospects based on development and motivation. The spirit of a winner must replace the spirit of a loser because people neither believe nor follow losers. The program of Montenegro's future, Djumanovic went on, must count upon the unconditional adherence to the integral Yugoslav project of social and development transformation. [passage omitted]

Finally, Djumanovic said, I feel the need to say something which for a long time people in our freedom-loving homeland were not even allowed to think, let alone say. It was shameless to frighten the Montenegrin people for years with potential Greater Serbian hegemonism to negate the Montenegrin nation and state. What I would call sick hallucinations were used to seek, and until recently, to find ways of maintaining power and attracting the people's and political attention to oneself. The commanders of this struggle against an imagined enemy received regular and unreserved support from some republican and even Yugoslav leaderships. Today the Montenegrins do not seek, nor can they, to negate or renounce the autonomy of the Montenegrin national identity and statehood achieved through historic evolution and defended in the revoluton. Hence we have neither a historic nor current reason to be suspicious or terrified of anyone. Especially not of the Serbs because of common ethnic origin, and numerous historic links. This is more likely to be something which both of us feel with pride and not with phobias and ethnocentric traumas. For this reason we must not and will not burn the bridges, neither in front of nor behnd us, especially because this truly and in no way diminishes our loving loyalty to all the other nations and nationalities in the Yugoslav family.

The eradication of these and similar legacies and prejudices will make it possible for us to employ all our thinking potential to promote Montenegrin transformation and development.

Dr Milinko Saranovic stressed that the difficult situation in the economy, the state organs, and political organizations are a consequence of numerous mistakes made in the past, negligence and indolence in tackling principal social problems, and of the tendency to underestimate the LC's role and place in an altered situation. [passage omitted]

Milorad Pavic stressed that Montenegrin Communists would never again allow a policy to be pursued in their republic that serves various coalitions plotting against the interests of individual Yugoslav nations. The communists of Montenegro will give support only to the policy which is in the interest of all the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia. He also voiced the view held by the majority in his delegate base to the effect that in the light of Stipe Suvar's inconsistency and unprincipled behavior, and especially because his statements in the LCY Central Committee and the Croatian LC Central Committee are likely to cause divisions among communists and the peoples of Yugoslavia, Suvar should not be allowed to be in the SFRY Presidency. [passage omitted]

Radovan Jablan said: I have the right to think that some newspapers used Comrade Tito to test the mood in the country. They thought: If we go unscathed after attacking Tito's deeds and personality, we can go even further. The test was successful. As a result newspapers suddenly became inundated by rivers of filth and destruction. They would not even leave our proud Yugoslav People's Army alone. This is the ultimate in fanaticism and total lack of purpose. Some journalists and their assistants with important-sounding names and titles are retailoring Yugoslavia, rearranging its map, and then going as far as to ask their readers if they would like to live in such a country. Those who foment hatred and nationalism are very "imaginative." The question is why are they allowed all this?

Milan Gajovic stressed that in the last few decades in particular, Yugoslavia has pursued a foreign policy whose main goal is based more on tolerance than on an energetic struggle to protect Yugoslav interests abroad and rights of our national minorities in neighboring countries. We do not need diplomats who will spend their time exchanging polite diplomatic messages and protocol visits. As a result of such a policy, our national minorities in neighboring countries have been deprived of their basic rights. For instance, Albania and Romania are pursuing the policy of destroying the national identity of our minorities, while Bulgaria and Greece have completed the process of enforced assimilation and resettlement of our compatriots, Gajovic said. [passage omitted]

Our deeds, past and present, will provide truth about Montenegro, about all of us, Momir Bulatovic said. However, far be it from me, he added, to think that we can teach others democracy and civilized behavior. But we are happy to think that our success, our democratic and efficient measures could contribute to the efforts to strengthen and stabilize Yugoslavia and promote the genuine and humanitarian nature of socialism. All that

stems from national identity--and the citizens of Montenegro have demonstrated that their will, strength, and know-how must eventually prevail. No one but ourselves will win this victory which that we, ourselves, can question. [passage omitted]

The time ahead will not be easy. Painful truths will emerge on the surface: delusions of the past will have to be faced and debts repaid. Younger generations will ask how it is that our legacy is an unsafe present and an uncertain future. A great number of us, sitting in this hall, have enjoyed the material fruits of past delusions. Thanks to foreign capital we came close to believing that we're living in a pleasant and relatively rich brand of socialism. In the meantime, as the debts matured and delusions became dispersed, younger generations whose youth is being wasted in fruitless social reforms and calls for patience, arrived on the scene, Bulatovic emphasized. [passage omitted]

In an era of highly developed technology and social progress, we must not go back to being a republic of paper. Instead we must become a republic of work, creativity, and ideas. However surprising it may seem to some, we in Montenegro have got enough strength, will, and know-how to achieve that, Momir Bulatovic said in conclusion. [passage omitted]

Danilo Vuksanovic stressed that the Montenegro LC rank and file expect the extraordinary congress to be uncompromising in eliminating all that is retrograde, that prevents us from having a decent life, from keeping abreast of the modern world. To achieve this, he added, we need radical changes in our society, in our minds and in the behavior of all of us. The interests of the working people and citizens of this republic, and not of groups and individuals, should be given priority. [passage omitted]

Vukotic Addresses Congress

LD2604162589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0915 GMT 25 Apr 89

[Text] Titograd, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—At the 10th Extraordinary Congress of the Montenegrin League of Communists [LC] which began this morning in Titograd, the introductory speech was given by Dr Veselin Vukotic, coordinator of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium.

We are living at a time when great things are happening in civilization; there are large and rapid changes, scientific-technological progress is being made and the future is coming more rapidly; a time has arrived which, regardless of whether we are prepared, is not going to wait for anyone. How should one behave in such a situation and with such a future? Searching for answers to these questions is searching for a destiny, a life fit for the people.

The reality in which we are all living with difficulty, and in which many are barely existing, is obscuring the horizons and killing hope, leading to fatalistic thoughts about finality. However, nothing is final, although everything has its end. This truth, which is centuries old, is something which people know and preserve. A refusal to be reconciled to the existing state of affairs in Montenegro is historically ingrained in the people. A refusal to be reconciled to poverty, injustice, bureaucratic arrogance, backwardness and lack of prospects, and to the fact that our children's future is being squandered; has brought the people of this region together, as they have come together many times in their history to look for changes and to express their readiness to be the proponent of those changes. Only on that platform, the platform of faith that greater and better things can be achieved, should we assess all that has happened and is happening today in Montenegro.

The people have once again called together the Communists in this republic. They have gathered us here today, at the first extraordinary congress in our party history. They have called us together because people still believe that the LC has the strength, the power and the knowledge to open up new processes—processes which are suited to essential interests. This is why we must be aware that there is no longer any time or opportunity to take advantage of the confidence of the membership and the people. This, among other reasons, is why the congress is an extraordinary one.

It is also extraordinary because it is not an act of continuity, of continuation of what we have today. This must be a congress which will, in a noble atmosphere, create and encourage conditions to develop a new way of thinking and responsible behavior. It must provide the impetus for a new developmental philosophy for us based on political democratization and greater economic efficiency.

We do not see this congress as a historical one, continued Vukotic. There have already been too many of those up to now. This is not a break with some abstract policy, but with what we have been living and been a part of, particularly over the last decade. At the same time, this is not a congress for analyzing the current path, but rather to seek a vision; it is not a congress for wishes, but for seeking practical moves to overcome the worrisome state of affairs. In order to be these things, its message must live for significantly longer than the messages of some previous congresses. In order for this to be the case, we must try to make the message clear and practical for life. The message must be real and feasible, must be arrived at by dialog and, to put it simply, by respecting everything which the people have said, clearly and unambiguously. We must recall the basic message of the gatherings in Montenegro in the past 7-8 months and must not forget that this congress did not begin today, or in August last year at the meeting in Titograd, but significantly earlier.

Everyone knows what has happened since the ninth congress. Only a few people, and there are such people, are better off today than they were then. Little has been achieved. Difficulties have oppressed the people. There is increasingly little trust in others, everything is doubted. These are the visible aspects of the deep economic, political, moral and general sociohistorical crisis. At the basis of everything is a catastrophic economic depression, and a political authoritharianism which has been constructed on this. The ineffective economy has stifled morale and halted the democratization of society. The basis of our economic life is threatened. The ultimate effects of all economic activities are increasingly low. The Montenegrin economy is the most indebted, 2.7 times more than average, in Yugoslavia, which itself is over-indebted. The level of development is constantly falling and now, with $1,600 per citizen it is 77 percent of the Yugoslav level of development. [sentence as received] There is a constant decrease in the level of employment among the population. In the last 3 years the number of unemployed people has increased from 34,000 to 46,000 people. average personal incomes are 27 percent lower than the average in the country, and the quality of life is worse and worse.

Investment activity has almost dried up. With an investment of 8 percent of the social product, which is the level of investment here, there can be no resolution of basic economic issues, or above all, of restructuring and raising the technological level of the economy. All this shows that our real potential for development is narrowed and diminished. At the same time, we have increasingly turned into a society with a bureaucratic psychology, in which procedures, cliches and stereotypes are more important than the effective solution of problems. Our development, after the last congress, has been a continuation of the rule of bureaucracy and etatism and the stifling of personal and economic freedoms and initiatives. Over the last 2 years the absurdity and sterility of the prevailing development policy has been laid bare, the foundations of which are predominantly ideological, rather than rational and economic in character. This has been a policy which took as its point of departure the assumption that the people, individuals and all economic subjects, would behave just as the all-knowing political center prescribed and as it wished, and not in the basic economic interests of individuals and economic subjects.

The Montenegrin LC did not know how to, or did not wish to resist such processes which are a characteristic not just of Montenegro but of the country as a whole. The LC'S method of work, based on the flow of paper and the attempt to establish communication with the membership by means of resolutions and generalized conclusions, has increasingly weakened the standing of the LC and distanced it from life, from the membership and from the people. This is why the people organized themselves, suspending the institutions of the system and removing the alienated leadership, a leadership which did not even have enough courage and strength to appear before the people at the January meeting. This is how it came to break from the people finally. The people suspended the institutions because they were not serving their interests, they were not reflecting the national will. They suspended them because they no longer believed the individuals who identified themselves with them, and not because a barbarian, southern gene worked its effects upon them. The people turned their back on the leadership because they will not allow themselves to be scorned, beaten, or manipulated. This nation has for centuries split blood for freedom, honor and dignity. It always did this en masse, resolutely and to the end. The victims of these goals were not mourned, but celebrated. The wave of great national dissatisfaction provoked by economic stumbling and political disenfranchisement was also strengthened by the irresolute stance of the Montenegrin leadership toward Kosovo. In Kosovo the battle for Yugoslavia is being fought, Kosovo in this region is not just a matter of historical honor, but a question of survival.

The events which occured between October last year and this January, and since last January, indicates that the people were not manipulated from either inside or outside; they were not led by the sons of the Chetniks, but by the most progressive saplings of the young generation. We were not faced with a putsch aimed at taking over power and bringing about change for the sake of changing, rather it was an attempt to create conditions for democratization within overall social relations and for bringing about vital changes in the electoral system; those events had nothing to do with "Serbianization" of or "national bargaining" with Montenegro; rather they reflected people's determination and desire to see the Montenegro nation and all those living in the republic in an atmosphere of fraternal love and concord regain their dignity. It is necessary, in line with the findings of the Assembly's commission, to finalize work on establishing political responsibility of all those who resorted to force to put an end to the Montengrin October, and to carry out urgent political differentiation in the organs of the republic's Internal Affairs Secretariat.

Montenegro is in the grip of a powerful democratic transformation. The referendum to elect the member of the SFRY Presidency from Montenegro as well as elections to the LC which, in essence, were a specific form of party referendum, reiterate the people's commitment to follow the course of the ongoing processes. The completed cadre renewal, the rejuventation in all municipal LC committees and in the Montenegro LC Central Committee are the result of the new developmental philosophy and of the new thinking in Montenegro. The reforms we are advocating will be carried out by people who have no experience of the situation as it was and who believe in changes. Both past and present events in Montenegro demonstrate that there are genuine conditions for that.

At the present moment, characterized by our exceptionally critical attitude toward the mistakes of the past and toward the indifference and mistakes of the political

leadership which, among other things, threaten the very foundations of our political system and have undermined the reputation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], we must remember that it has been 70 years since the ideas of the Yugoslav Communist Party were initiated. At that time we have experienced a number of periods of honorable and genuine struggle for freedom, social progress, and development.

The greatest successes of the Yugoslav Communist Party, that is, the LCY, are linked with the name and work of Josip Broz Tito. His memory must serve as a stimulus for searching for best solutions and ways of overcoming, in a creative way, the causes and effects of the overall crisis.

Many of the problems facing us are not unique to our environment. They are to be found throughout Yugoslavia. Our economic, political, and moral crisis has assumed the proportions that call for a redefinition of the model of socialism and its developmental philosophy. We must settle accounts with numerous dogmas and learn from past lessons. If we are not prepared to be realistic about our past and its mistakes, our strivings toward the future may take us back to where we were before or even further back. We live in Yugoslavia, a country which should have the attributes of a modern state which implies, above all, political democracy (with free elections and the right to the pluralism of opinion), economic efficiency and high quality of life (the living standard and the right to individual and collective initiative). We must fight for a rich society, for rich socialism since it is quite clear that present generations are more attracted by the idea of being unequal in a rich society than being equal in a poor one. To achieve this we must stop extolling what exists now and instead declare war on dogmatism, separatism, nationalism, idleness, parasitism, bureaucracy, and bureaucratic laziness. The three reforms, or rather one comprehensive social reform, signal the beginning of that war.

Efficiency in implementing the social reform requires that, among others, the following fundamental questions be answered: what kind of socialism do we advocate and what kind of Yugoslavia do we want? We, the Communists and people of Montenegro favor the type of socialism based on both economic and political freedom. Man and his interests must be at the center of society's developmenmt. No society, particularly the most developed ones, can resolve its problems without taking man into account and without treating him as the main factor in the efforts toward overall social integrity and subjectivity. All reformist solutions must, therefore, be directed toward searching for the ways of mobilizing the individual, to motivate him to invest in development, to show enterprising spirit, constantly to create new values and not to be just a consumer, and to be free and independent from the state and politics. This is not possible without respect for human rights and freedoms. We advocate a society without any obstacles to initiative and with a great deal of trust. It must be based on personal freedoms and legal security, respect for market laws, full recognition of people who work harder, know more, are innovative, and who promote world standards, criteria, and ideas. We advocate a society which, instead of the state and politics, would have market and economy as its basis, a society organized not on idelogical but rather on rational and economic principles, for a society in which the rule of law provides a basis for organized life. We are aware that the transition from a party state to a state with the rule of law is the main prerequisite for enhancing economic efficiency and political democracy in society.

To fulfill this concept of socialism we need a modern state. This, of course, implies major changes in our political stystem, changes which will be much deeper, more profound than provided for by the present Constitution. In my view we do not need to prove that we are in a crisis, not because the political system is not functioning, but because an evidently inefficient system is at work in the country. Instead of political pluralism, Yugoslavia today is in the grip of territorial-national pluralism. The question of whether we want socialist, self-managing Yugoslavia to be federal or confederal is therefore of great importance. The answer to this question will provide solutions to the issue of the country's political and economic system. A critical analysis of our experience demonstrates in no ambiguous terms that we lack a strong and efficient mechanism for implementing decisions reached at the federal level, in other words, we are faced with a crisis in the functioning of key instruments of the current and future economc policy. For this reason, monetary and fiscal policy, as well as foreign economic relations and most of the economic infrastructure (science, large economic systems, some strategic products) must be in the federation's competence. There will be no market in a weak and inefficient state. We therefore need a strong federation in those areas of the economy which can secure unity of the country's economic sphere.

Realization of these ideas and, in general, implementation of the market model of economy as the dominant one, requires a radical transformation of the LC. We need an LC that will not derive its legitimacy solely from the revolutionary past, from a once leading role, about which it has been reminding us constantly, and occasionally threateningly, but an LC which will provide efficient programs in the interest of the people and the future. Only the awareness that the LC exists and functions on the historical stage to the extent of ordinary concrete support, will drive us toward creativity. The Montenegrin LC must advocate that other subjects in society also provide their proposals and programs, and that they fight for them. Experiences in the last few months show the efficiency of such a model.

Political pluralism is neither a goal nor the final aim, but the means for efficient harmonization of the wealth and diversity of social interests. Political pluralism should provide more freedom for everyone, more opportunities

for promotion of good ideas and new capable people. This concept is essentially different from the multiparty system, which, according to present information, does not have a broader basis or support in Montenegro, and which is not a solution for Montenegrin problems, and probably is not a solution for problems in Yugoslavia. In particular it cannot be a solution for Yugoslav problems if it takes the form of a national multiparty system with which we have bitter experiences. If such differences in the level of development in the existing state of social and political relations and multinational structure of Yugoslavia are taken into account, then it can be said that the multiparty system would not be a solution for democratization of relations. However, discussion about this must not be halted, and in an atmosphere of tolerance we should soberly analyze all possibilities of democratization of society through a multiparty system. At this moment, we deem that nonparty political pluralism provides a much higher degree of democratization, and that all efforts should be directed toward its development and improvement.

A change to the internal being of the LC corresponds necessarily to this. It cannot be an initiated or privileged social group which one joins in a ritual ceremony. It must be an organization of voluntarily and freely associated people, who join because of similar conviction and for the realization of common aims.

However, the overall social transformation is impossible without increased economic efficiency, which is impossible without a different concept of development and without new ways of thinking about development. The social transformation here and in the country as a whole is impossible without a new philosophy of life and new ways of thinking. In that sense, it is necessary to change public opinion and to overcome three already noted dominant characteristics of the public: immature behavior, superficial reasoning, and narrow mindedness. Removal from public life of creative, scientific, and artistic persons as dangers to the accepted ideology of the political top echelon shows in the top structures of power the beginning of an infantile and chameleon-like mind set which is not a creative one and which is alien to everything thoughtful, new, and creative. Paid bureaucratic structures, which with adopted vocabulary and ways of thinking prove their loyalty to and faith in a chief—that is, a political leader—encourage such a spirit. This spirit, based on servile relations, has developed such newspeak, which ordinary people do not understand at all and increasingly do not want to listen to.

While we are admiring the wisdom and depth of thinking of the ordinary man, our public words are increasingly superflous, banal, and contentless. Inability to say more than the naked eye can see is more and more evident. This leads to a loss of competence and lowering of discussions to a very low level. At the same time, many individuals get the impression that they are grand and knowledgable persons, while at the same time they increasingly banalize discussion and the approach to serious and technical problems. The dominant spirit and ways of thinking rely on the narrow mindedness which is characteristic for religious and ideological extremists.

Thus, the essential presupposition of economic efficiency is raising the level of competence, expertise, and professionalism in all areas, even in the area of politics. Specifically, politics as a condensed representation of reality, as the philosophy of the system, influences norms of behavior in all areas, in homes and factories. Thus, the thesis that economies should be separated from politics is over simplified. The influence of politics on the economy objectively always exists. However, the modern economy requires politics, not just as the art of the possible, as a last momentary reaction, but as the application of the science of managing, that is: as an element of statesmanly wisdom.

The new philosophy of development also proceeds from the integral market: the market of goods and services, the money and financial market, the specific labor market, and the market for know-how and ideas. At the same time, an open market and export-oriented strategy of development must be worked out. The fear of the market is unjustified for all individuals and economic entities who are prepared to live from the results of their work and not be wasteful.

Those who cannot meet market demands are out of step with the times. This is the law of progress.

Many will yearn for the days of easy living, when we said—and people who are not wasteful were puzzled—that we lived so well when we worked so little. The illusion has been broken, not voluntarily but because all sources for financing laziness dried up. There are no more ideological or other reasons why we should not face the truth, even the truth that one cannot get paid unless one earns it. This is one of the strongholds of the new development philosophy based on the market economy model, i.e. the revival and encouragment of conditions under which economic interest will be the basis of behavior. And to realize and accept at all levels, from the family to the federation, that one can get what one earns—that is, that we must pay for hard work and not pay those who do not work; that we should take care of ourselves and not be dependent on others. This presupposes maximal development of the economic freedoms, that the state and the party withdraw from the economy and concentrate their activity on creating social conditions for more efficient behavior of the economic entities. The LC is obliged to advocate the creation of conditions to promote the market economy and all orientations in the domain of the economic reform. In this, the LC must above all free itself from preconceptions about the dominant position of social ownership and encourage the private initiative, that is, essentially to affirm pluralistic forms of ownership.

It is especially important to create conditions for the development of enterpreneurship and an enterpreneureal climate. In other words, the enterpreneurship of the state and party monopoly, which is evident in decisionmaking about investments, is incompatible with the market economy. Enterpreneurship is for people and economic entities who are prepared to invest and take risks—that is, it is always connected to the process of individualization into smaller work units. If we favor enterpreneurship and the spirit of enterprise, without which the market cannot exist, then we must promote managerial skills, we must respect people who by creating and providing intellectual services and abilities ensure the dynamic development of the economy.

We should do away with the habit of seeking to resolve the economic problems in Montenegro by fighting for a better position in redustribution, habits which are very evident in Yugoslavia today. Redistribution always reflects the balance of power, and we are insufficiently powerful to tip the balance seriously. Thus, there is no alternative to the orientation to the market and the market value of economic and human potential. This is the only chance to clear away many burdens from the past and to take the road to a modern and richer society. Montenegro should especially stimulate the development of tourism, that is, all activities which serve the development of tourism, above all agriculture, the manufacturing industry, and small businesses.

26 Apr Proceedings Reported

LD2704122289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0920 GMT 26 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Titograd, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—This morning in Titograd the 2d day of the 10th Extraordinary Montenegrin League of Communists [LC] Congress began. Presiding over the working Presidium, Dr Veselin Vukotic began by informing those present that 107 delegates had announced their intention to speak today and joked that the congress, if the lengthy discussions continued, could gain one more epithet—"The 1 May" congress. Because of the large number of those tabled to speak there is a possibility that the congress will continue its work tomorrow.

The first participant in the discussion today, Dr Damjan Seckovic, marked out as the two basic directions for emerging from the crisis and for building a better future, the democratization of political life and the resolute implementation of economic reform, which will guarantee greater economic effectiveness. [passage omitted]

The new development philosophy of which we have decided in favor requires a change not just of laws but of our consiousness and ways of behaving, Blagoje Lucic said. Only work, order, and responsibility can enable it to be implemented unhindered. We must also concern ourselves with the issue of cadres, which is our main problem. The structures of bureaucracy are not just in the top republican organs, but also in the municipalities, in the judiciary, in the internal affairs service, and this is the next stage where we must address issues of cadre changes, Lucic stressed.

No political organization, including the LC has in advance the guaranteed most progressive role, Zeljko Cvoro said. Only by force of ideas and arguements is the place, role, and importance of a political organization determined. But one thing is certain, he said, the Montenegrin LC will not abandon its role of a resolute fighter for the construction of a self-managing system, but it does abandon the ideological and political monopoly which it has had to date. This should become the greatest achievement of the recent events in Montenegro and Yugoslavia, Cvoro said. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 9 and 10 not received]

Delegates of the 10th Extraordinary Montenegrin LC Congress will have to vote for the third time in order to complete the composition of the new Central Committee of Montenegrin LC.

In the first round of votes held last night 46 of 65 required members of the Central Committee were elected. Today delegates elected 17 delegates for this body from the list of 28 candidates. In the meantime, one of the elected members asked to be relieved from the post, so that in the third round of votes three more members of the Central Committee will be elected.

The list of 24 candidates for membership to the LCY Central Committee from Montenegro was completed with today's election of two more candidates. Last night 22 candidates were elected to the membership to the LCY Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The 2d day of proceedings of the 10th Extraordinary Congress of the Montenegrin LC ended at 2330.

Owing to the large number of applicants for discussion the delegates decided to extend the meeting of the highest ranking-forum of Montenegrin Communists for one more day. Tomorrow's session will start at 0900.

Congress Ends, Adopts Platforms

LD2804024189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0117 GMT 28 Apr 89

[Text] Titograd, April 28 (TANJUG)—An emergency congress of the League of Communists of Montenegro ended here last evening by adopting a platform to put an end to bureaucratic arrogance and inaccessiblility of its leading members.

A new philosophy of development, a document, is to promote a new status for the leading communists having in it that the League of Communists must lose its last characteristic of a conventional party. In this way, the League is to cease being an organisation with the monopoly of truth and of passing judgement on others.

From now on, the Communists in Yugoslavia's smallest constituent republic will maintain "political relations on equal terms with the advocates of differring but socialist visions and solely by the strength of their arguements make their convictions acceptable."

The new generations of Montenegro's high-ranking party officials—in Yugoslav practice, for the most part very young and liberal-minded people who surfaced in the wake of a strong movement of masses of people last January—see a way out of the now crisis in a pluralist democracy of non-party type and in a socialism to submit to market laws.

With its 46,000 jobless per its half a million inhabitants and its heaviest indebtedness in Yugoslavia in terms of the income realised, Montenegro is among Yugoslavia's most heavily affected republics and its soaring inflation rate has reached as high as even 600 percent.

While having sharp words to say about its party and state leading bodies relieved last January of their posts, the congress rehabilitated party members the party had offended earlier, some cases of rehabilitation dating back as far in the past as at the time of the outbreak of the peoples liberation war in Yugoslavia in 1941.

The top gathering of Montenegro's Communists insisted on the need to do away with the privileged status of high-ranking officials who, after having lost their positions, are further to be found on payrolls, and on sending them to the employment office.

A particularly stormy debate was held on insufficiently cleared-up circumstances in which Marko Orlandic, Montenegro's representative to the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee [LCY CC], was appointed to be Yugoslavia's ambassador to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

As proposed by Momir Bulatovic, the chairman, the congress delegates concluded to have taken to account, in the matter of Orlandic's appointment, the republics government and the republics presidency who approved the decision.

Also criticised was the Presideny of Yugoslavia for having, by appointing Orlandic, "expressed its lack of respect for the peoples will in Montenegro" and, in so doing, "inflicted a huge political harm upon Yugoslavia."

Several speakers saw, in awarding Orlandic as a member of the relieved top circle of leaders, a political manoeuvre and a suggestion from Stipe Suvar, now president of the LCY Presidency Central Committee, who, in virtue of his function, is the link between the LCY Presidency and the Yugoslav State Presidency.

Last year, at the stormy 17th session of the LCY CC, Orlandic took the floor in the debate and diverted the debate course from one delegate's question about the appropriateness of further keeping Suvar in the party's most responsible position.

"The LCY first mans behaviour can be characterized as a Stalinist method," Todor Bakovic, a participant in the debate, said in a comment on the Orlandic case.

Vojvodina LC Conference Proposed for November

AU2704162489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22-23 Apr 89 p 11

[S. Stanojevic report: "New Extraordinary Conference in November"]

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 21 Apr—At its session chaired by Nedeljko Sipovac, the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Vojvodina today decided to propose to the Provincial Committee a resolution according to which the Vojvodina LC will, as a part of its preparations for the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], hold its 19th Extraordinary Conference in November. The precise date is yet to be decided.

The election of the delegates to the 19th extraordinary conference will be done according to the formula of one delegate to every 600 LC members, provided that every communal LC organization has at least one delegate. The election of delegates—among which there will be at least 50 percent of those from direct production—should be completed by 10 October. In addition to fulfilling the obligations that stem from its regular election conference, the central theme at the 19th (Extraordinary) Conference of the Vojvodina LC will naturally be devoted to social reforms and the transformation of the LC, as it will be at the 14th (Extraordinary) LCY Congress. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina Committee Marks LCY's 70th Anniversary

LD2704165289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Excerpt] A formal session of the Vojvodina LC [League of Communists] Provincial Committee was held in Novi Sad today to mark the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia]. Nedelkjo Sipovac spoke about the importance of this historical event. During the working part of its session the provincial committee decided that the 19th Extraordinary Conference of the Vojvodina LC be held in November and set the LC's tasks in organizing party elections in the province. [passage omitted]

Slovene Presidium on Human Rights Committee

LD2704172189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1147 GMT 26 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—The call by the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights will in no way contribute to the efforts to introduce the rule of law and to consolidate the sovereignty of the Slovene people. Neither of these can be either brought about or enhanced by calls for civil disobedience and the use of other destructive means, the league of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium says in it stand on the call by the collegium of the so-called Bavcar's committee.

Nothing useful and worthwhile can be achieved by threats. All the more so since the Committee for the Protection of Human rights, which has as its main task the protection of the rights of the four [Borstner, Tasic, Jansa, and Zavrl; accused of publishing military secrets] has failed to make use of all available legal means to alleviate the situation in which the accused have found themselves. [passage omitted]

The Slovene LC Central Committee and its Presidium support the proposal made by the Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia Republican Conference, the Assembly and the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and sent to the SFRY Presidency which, reflecting the mood of the majority of the population of the republic, call for the four to be pardoned. The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium stresses that, for inexplicable reasons, there has been no public response by the relevant organs who received the official proposal by Slovene top organs.

Assembly Committee Discusses Attacks on Army

AU2704155289 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Apr 89 p 10

[P. Petrovic report: "Attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army Are the Center of Attacks on Yugoslavia"]

[Text] The more and more frequent attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] constitute the center of the attacks on Yugoslavia. In this respect, in the places where the Army is attacked most—in Slovenia and in Kosovo—fewest measures have been taken that would counteract such behavior and protect the Army.

Therefore, the basic problem does not lie in the attacks on the Army, but in the lack of timely reaction to these occurrences by sociopolitical organizations and system institutions. In addition, one should separate the individual and specific instances of such behavior from the relations that exist in the various parts of the country between the people and the YPA. These are but some of the observations made at the session of the National Defense Committee of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber yesterday which discussed the Federal Executive Council report on the essence, the causes, and the assessments of the attacks on the concept of all-people's defense and the YPA in particular. This report had been rejected in Slovenia in the past few days, but the delegates, with the exception of those from Slovenia, unanimously supported it yesterday. Yesterday, like during the past few weeks, it was obvious that, as regards the insults and belittling of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, the thinking in Yugoslavia stands on one side, and the thinking in Slovenia, or some of its structures, on another.

"Is anything in this report one-sided, malicious, and inexactly said?" Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense, asked at the beginning, when he answered the observations of numerous Slovene institutions that had discussed it and the remarks by the Slovene delegates at the session yesterday. Referring to the opinion of Viktorija Potocnik and Vilko Jelen, according to which the report presents Slovenia's attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army, Brovet said:

How Official Institutions Participate in Attacks

With this report, the Federal Executive Council by no means wanted to shift the responsibility for the attacks on the YPA to Slovenia and its people, but only referred to specific perpetrators, individuals and groups, some of which—like the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance, work within the system.

Since one of the key remarks by Viktorija Potocnik was her rejection of the assertion that the reaction by Slovene sociopolitical organizations to these occurrences was not prompt, Brovet attempted to dispute it with arguments. He thus mentioned that the peace group in the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia stands behind the project of a civilian instead of a military service. The organizer of the international gathering in Bohinj in August 1988 promoting the abolition of all the armies was the Slovene Youth Organization, but this did not inhibit it from presenting Yugoslavia at the meeting as a country with the least understanding for civilian instead of military service, and the YPA as a militant organization, views which were popularized by Slovene newspapers. Brovet also mentioned the speech by one of the five candidates for the SFRY Presidency post, Gojko Stanic, who in his election program said that spending on the YPA should be reduced to two percent. In Brovet's words, this would mean the complete liquidation of our military industry and a halving of our Army.

The best illustration of how the official institutions protect the Army in Slovenia is the stand of the Basic Court in Ljubljana which rejected the ban on the latest issue of MLADINA with the explanation that "there is no case of insult, but of negative value judgments," Brovet said.

The Thesis that the People in Slovenia Will Turn Against the YPA is Wrong

With the exception of the Slovene delegates, all others speaking in the discussion—and they numbered 35 in all—supported the rectitude and the seriousness of the report and advocated that it be discussed at a session of the Federal Chamber. The possibility of classifying the attacks on the YPA as a democratic dialogue on defense preparations in a republic was rejected. It was pointed out that the two most important traits of the Yugoslav People's Army were disputed: that it is an Armed Force of all the people's and nationalities, and that it serves the defense of the country.

One of the remarks by the Slovene delegates was that, in considering the attacks on the YPA, one standard is used for Slovenia and another for other peoples and nationalities. An illustration cited was the meeting in front of the SFRY Assembly when, as Vilko Jelen said, the Serbian people booed the President of the SFRY Presidency as the supreme commander of the Armed forces, and called for weapons. He wondered whether this was not an attack on the YPA, but the report does not even mention it. In addition, the Slovene delegates indicated the possibility that, if the report is accepted, an anti-Army feeling may arise in Slovenia. Stane Brovet reacted as follows:

The thesis that the people in Slovenia will turn against the YPA is erroneous. I beg you not to identify the specific perpetrators of the attacks with the people, because it is precisely the intention of the attackers to demonstrate that they express the positions of the Slovene people, which is not true. Why should the Slovene people resist if somebody criticizes those who attack the YPA that the Slovenes love? I do not see that they should be disturbed by it, Brovet stated.

Many others who took part in the discussion rejected the identification of those who attack the YPA with the Slovene people.

After a discussion lasting 5 hours, it was concluded that a discussion in the Federal Chamber should follow, but that respective conclusions should be summed up as soon as possible and a report should be prepared, so that the delegates may have a better insight into what was said at the session yesterday.

BORBA Article Advocates Jail for Kecmanovic

AU2804081989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Apr 89 p 1

[Grujica Spasovic commentary: "Prison for the Rector"]

[Text] Nenad Kecmanovic should in any case be thrown into prison; because a man who has given information to foreigners "which is of particular interest to the security of the country"—which includes information on, among other things, "the dichotomy between the proclaimed and the real," "the state of relations" in Serbia, Kosovo, Croatia, and Slovenia and "of course in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina," and even the "situation in the editorial policy in leading media houses" and "the possibilities of Yugoslavia being transformed into a confederation"—not only should not be allowed to be a member of the SFRY Presidency, but his further harmful activity could undermine the very foundations of our self-managing, socialist, and democratic society.

In this respect, indeed, the rule does not apply that the truth in politics must wait until somebody needs it. This is simply not a question of politics but of a "state secret" which should not be doubted. "There are reasons to conclude that a foreign factor could have gathered sufficient compromising material in the course of numerous contacts to possibly discredit even Dr Nenad Kecmanovic, if this was assessed to be necessary," but "there is no reason to conclude" that "some foreign factor" has needed to assess that the time is right to discredit the disobedient rector.

If one does not dare to have any doubts, perhaps at least some questions should be asked. Where is the line between normal, conventional communication with a foreigner and the "giving of exhaustive and analytical answers"? Who arbitrates in this case—that is, who assesses that the "usual frameworks" have been abandoned and how do they do this? What are the social jobs that a person can do in this society having abandoned the "usual frameworks" in contacts with foreigners, and where is that Rubicon which—because of the "security of the country"—must not be crossed? If it is also possible to shift "security" to classify into one's dossiers as problematic ideas about which even political sparrows twitter ("the dichotomy between the proclaimed and the real"), should such "proof" be authorized by a serious political organ? In short: How can we protect ourselves from our protectors?

These questions should not of course distract us from our most pressing social tasks. Thus, the delegate is right who claimed that we are too concerned with this case and are neglecting those 200 people who—fighting for their mere existence—came to the Assembly and those students who are striking in Mostar. We are also forgetting that a liter of milk already costs 3,600 dinars and an egg 500 dinars. He has already realized that the price of an egg and the price of everything that is happening as a result of these elections are not important at all—"the best" who we have elected so far, have completely clean hands when it comes to the existential drama of not only those 200 people.

Therefore, the rector should be sent to prison without delay. Otherwise, the enemy would have yet more proof for his infernal idea about the "dichotomy between the proclaimed and the real."

'No Change' in FRG-SFRY Visa Regulations

AU2704174489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Apr 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "No Changes Yet"]

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Apr (TANJUG)— Following a report on the imminent introduction of visas for the travel of FRG citizens to Yugoslavia, and after the announcement of the Bonn government that it will introduce visas for Yugoslavs, TANJUG sought a statement from an official representative of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs to ascertain whether these reports are accurate or not.

Ambassador Ivo Vajgl, representative of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, observed that "They may relate to a misunderstanding or loose interpretation of a part of the discussion between representatives of our two countries in the course of which different aspects of the visa problem were examined.

"As far as the present situation is concerned, I can confirm that official representatives of the FRG have several times stated that no change is expected in the present practice of visa-free travel in the coming months. It logically follows that neither is our side changing the present practice with regard to FRG citizens, who do not require visas for travel to Yugoslavia. However, it is understandable that possible changes to the visa regulations, which we do not desire, would confront us with the need to find ways to protect our own interests.

"We are continuing efforts to discover ways to guarantee the continuation of the reciprocal practice of visa-free travel which corresponds to the interests of citizens of both our countries and which is in accord with the international agreements resulting from the Conference for European Security and Cooperation. In this context, an FRG parliamentary group will shortly come to Yugoslavia for talks on this precise issue. The competent Yugoslav authorities are taking the necessary steps which, we believe, will ensure that there will be no changes in the travel of citizens of our two countries," Ivo Vajgl stressed.

Freedom of Thought Committee Appeals to Serbia

AU2704161489 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 89 p 4

[Letter from the Committee for the Protection of Freedom of Thought and Expression to the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia: "To Accept the Risk of Freedom"]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Apr—The Committee for the Protection of Freedom of Thought and Expression has sent a letter to the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia in which it states:

In the last 4 and ½ years, the Committee for the Protection of Freedom of Thought and Expression has continuously been striving, as far as is in its power, for the establishment of an order of freedom in Yugoslavia which would include the inviolability of basic freedoms and rights, and a pluralistic democratic order. Following the recent changes to the SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, which have placed Serbia, in terms of its constitutional and basic state powers, in a considerably more favorable position in comparison to its previous state of internal divisions, considerably more favorable opportunities have arisen for democratizing the existing authoritarian political system.

This is why we are particularly worried by the clearly expressed resistance of some conservative officials in Serbia and some other republics. Our anxiety has been caused in particular by the demands for the examination of the constitutionality of the formation of independent political alliances and associations that were expressed by Belgrade students and citizens at the meeting held on 28 February of this year. These individual but powerful conservative voices have inflicted great damage to the reputation of the Serbian people in the country and abroad, creating a false impression that Serbia, which has had the longest and the most profound liberal and democratic tradition in our country, has mounted the strongest resistance to the gradual liberalization and democratization of the current political system. This has seriously affected the freedom-loving tradition of the Serbian nation that fought for an entire century for freedom from foreigners, for internal freedom, for a parliamentary system and a democratic and responsible government; finally, at the turn of the century, legitimately joined the circle of free and civilized peoples of Europe, although surrounded by authoritarian Austro-Hungary and despotic Turkey.

The current extremely grave economic, political, and social situation can, of course, serve as an excuse for conservative forces to postpone the urgently needed democratization. In our view it is more prudent to accept the risk of freedom than the illusory security of the status quo. We also think that political pluralism is a precondition for a worthy democratic system in which the citizens can associate in various alliances and associations of their own choice. The right to peaceful public assembly and association is the elementary precondition of every democratic system and in exercising this right no group of citizens should be put in a more favored or a more subordinate position. Therefore, all citizens, without exception, must be guaranteed the freedom of political association and the freedom of peaceful gathering without prior announcement or approval. [signed] Ivan Jankovic

The letter also lists the names of other members. They are: Borislav Mihajlovic-Mihiz; Ljubomir Tadic; Dragoslav Mihailovic; Mihajlo Markovic; Predrag Palavestra; Radovan Samardzic; Matija Beckovic; Dragoslav Srejovic; Dobrica Cosic; Vesna Pesic; Neca Jovanov; Mladen Srbinovic; Gojko Nikolic; Andrija Gams; Vojislav Kostunica; Kosta Cavoski; Zagorka Golubovic; Mica Popovic; and Tanasije Mladenovic.

This is a U.S. Government publication. Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government. Users of this publication may cite FBIS or JPRS provided they do so in a manner clearly identifying them as the secondary source.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) publications contain political, economic, military, and sociological news, commentary, and other information, as well as scientific and technical data and reports. All information has been obtained from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books, and periodicals. Items generally are processed from the first or best available source; it should not be inferred that they have been disseminated only in the medium, in the language, or to the area indicated. Items from foreign language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed, with personal and place names rendered in accordance with FBIS transliteration style.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by FBIS/JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpts] in the first line of each item indicate how the information was processed from the original. Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear from the original source but have been supplied as appropriate to the context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by the source. Passages in boldface or italics are as published.

SUBSCRIPTION/PROCUREMENT INFORMATION

The FBIS DAILY REPORT contains current news and information and is published Monday through Friday in eight volumes: China, East Europe, Soviet Union, East Asia, Near East & South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and West Europe. Supplements to the DAILY REPORTs may also be available periodically and will be distributed to regular DAILY REPORT subscribers. JPRS publications, which include approximately 50 regional, worldwide, and topical reports, generally contain less time-sensitive information and are published periodically.

Current DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are listed in *Government Reports Announcements* issued semimonthly by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161 and the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The public may subscribe to either hardcover or microfiche versions of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications through NTIS at the above address or by calling (703) 487-4630. Subscription rates will be provided by NTIS upon request. Subscriptions are available outside the United States from NTIS or appointed foreign dealers. New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.

U.S. Government offices may obtain subscriptions to the DAILY REPORTs or JPRS publications (hardcover or microfiche) at no charge through their sponsoring organizations. For additional information or assistance, call FBIS, (202) 338-6735,or write to P.O. Box 2604, Washington, D.C. 20013. Department of Defense consumers are required to submit requests through appropriate command validation channels to DIA, RTS-2C, Washington, D.C. 20301. (Telephone: (202) 373-3771, Autovon: 243-3771.)

Back issues or single copies of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are not available. Both the DAILY REPORTs and the JPRS publications are on file for public reference at the Library of Congress and at many Federal Depository Libraries. Reference copies may also be seen at many public and university libraries throughout the United States.